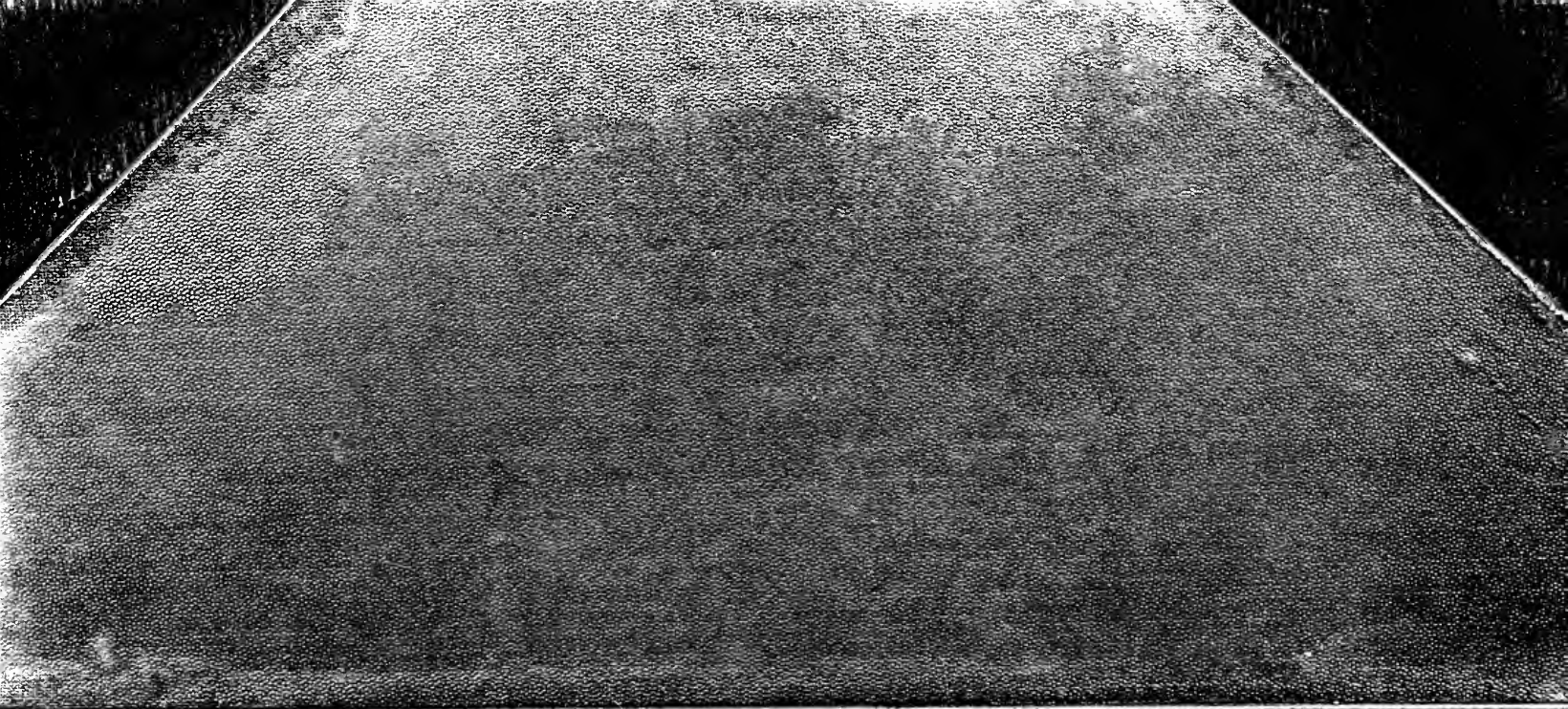

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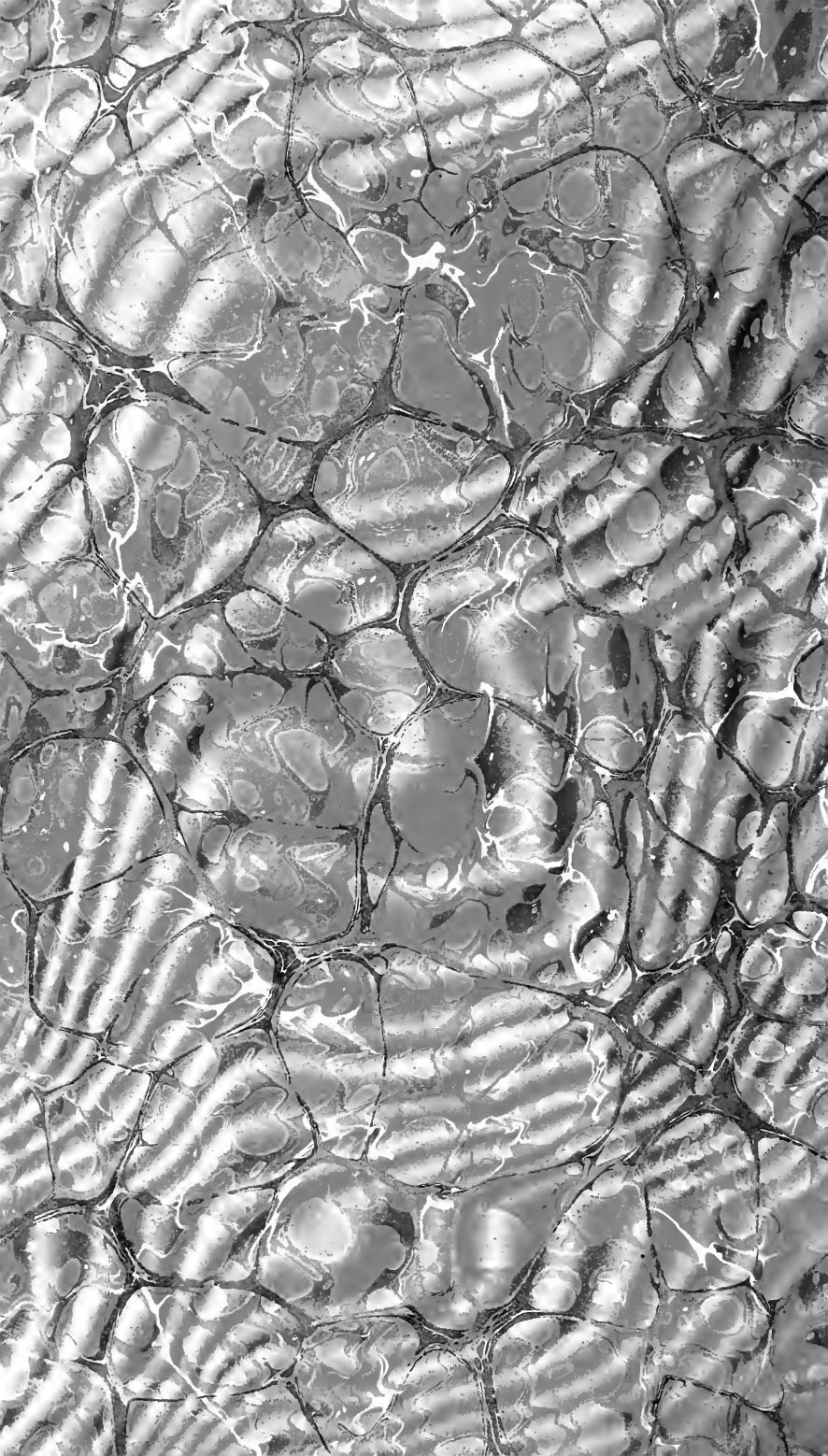

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HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION,

FROM

1789 TO 1814.

BY A. F. MIGNET.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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Character of the French revolution; its results; its progress.—Successive forms of the monarchy.—Louis XIV and Louis XV.—State of intelligence, of the finances, of the power and wants of the people, when Louis XIV ascended the throne;—his character.—Maurepas, prime minister; his policy.—He chooses popular and reforming ministers; with what object.—Turgot, Malesherbes, Necker; their plans; they encounter the opposition of the court and the privileged orders; their failure.—Death of Maurepas.—Influence of the queen Marie Antoinette.—Courtier ministers succeed the popular ministers.—Calonne and his system.—Brienne; his character; his attempts.—Distressed condition of the finances; opposition of the assembly of notables; opposition of the parliament; opposition of the provinces.—Retirement of Brienne; second ministry of Necker.—Convocation of the states-general.—How the revolution had become inevitable.

I SHALL take a rapid view of the French revolution, an event which introduced a new

state of society in Europe, as the English revolution had been the epoch of a new system of government. This revolution has not merely modified the political power of the nation, but has entirely changed its interior constitution. The forms of society which had sprung up in the middle ages still existed. The territory was divided into hostile provinces, and the population into rival classes. The noblesse, although still preserving its distinctions, had lost all its power; the people possessed no rights; the royal authority was restrained by no limits; and France was abandoned to the confusion of arbitrary administration, partial governments, and privileged bodies. For this disordered state of things, the revolution has substituted one more conformable to the principles of justice, and better adapted to the spirit of our times. Privilege gave way to equality, and arbitrary power was replaced by the regulations of law; the distinctions of classes, and the provincial barriers, were annihilated; industry was freed from the control of corporations and wardens; agriculture from tythes and feudal services; and property from the system of entails. In a word, France, as respects her

territory, her laws, and her population, was consolidated and united.

Such reforms could not be effected without encountering great difficulties; and transient evils necessarily followed in the train of solid and enduring ameliorations. The privileged classes wished to prevent, Europe tried to subdue, the revolution; and thus, forced into the struggle, it could neither measure its efforts nor moderate its triumphs. Resistance from within led to the sovereignty of the multitude, and aggression from without to the military domination. Nevertheless, in spite of anarchy and despotism, the object has been attained; ancient society has been destroyed during the revolution, and a new spirit established under the empire.

When reform has become necessary, and the period for its accomplishment has arrived, attempts to stifle tend only to hasten its progress. Happy would it be for mankind, could they properly estimate these changes; if they who possess too much, would yield up a portion of their abundance; and they who have too little, would be content with what they really needed. Revolution would then be divested of its horrors; and the historian, instead of having to record a series of

evils and excesses, would only have to describe human nature become more wise, more free, and more happy. But the page of history offers no example of such prudent sacrifices: they who should have made, have refused to make them; and they who have demanded, have in their turn imposed them. Thus good has been found operating like evil, by the means and with the violence of usurpation. As yet, there has been no sovereign but force.

In retracing the history of this important period, from the opening of the states-general to the year 1814, I shall define the several crises of the revolution, at the same time that I describe its progress. We shall see how, after having begun under the happiest auspices, it degenerated so violently; in what manner it changed France into a republic; and how upon the ruins of the republic the empire was elevated. These different phases resulted almost necessarily from the irresistible operation of the events which produced them. It would be rash indeed to affirm that the course of events could not have been different; but still the causes which produced the revolution, and the passions which it called into action, were such as to lead most

naturally to that which was its actual progress and termination. Before entering into these details, let us enquire into the circumstances which produced the convocation of the states-general, the immediate cause of the revolution; and in tracing these preliminaries, I hope to shew that it was alike impossible to avoid or control it.

At no period since its establishment had the French monarchy any permanency in its form, or any fixed and recognised powers and prerogatives. Under the first races, the crown was elective, the nation was sovereign, and the king simply a military chieftain, depending on the common deliberations as to the decrees he should enact, or the measures he should undertake. The nation elected its chief; it exercised the legislative power in the *Champs de Mars*, under the presidency of the monarch, and the judicial power as to the courts-leet, under the direction of one of his officers. The royal democracy gave way, during the prevalence of the feudal system, to a royal aristocracy. The sovereignty ascended; the grandees despoiled the people of this power, as they themselves were afterwards despoiled of it by the prince. At this

epoch the monarch had become hereditary,—not however as king, but as the possessor of the royal fief; the legislative power belonging to the grandees in the parliaments of the barons, and the judicial authority to the vassals in the seignorial courts. By degrees the sovereign power was still further concentrated; and in the same manner as it had passed from a great to a small number, it passed in the last resort from a small number to a single individual. The unceasing efforts of the monarchs during many ages had battered down the feudal edifice, and raised themselves on its ruins: they had invaded the fiefs, subjugated the vassals, and suppressed the parliaments of the barons; they had annulled or subjugated the seignorial courts, assumed the legislative power, and made the parliaments of lawyers exercise their judicial functions in subservience to their will.

The states-general, which they had summoned only on occasions of pressing necessity to grant them subsidies, and which were composed of the three orders of the nation—the clergy, the noblesse, and the *tiers-état*, (third estate), had never had a regular exist-

ence. Summoned occasionally during the progress of the royal prerogative, they were first governed, and afterwards suppressed by it. The vigorous and obstinate resistance which the kings experienced in their projects of aggrandizement, sprang much less from these assemblies, which they had called into existence, and on which they had arbitrarily conferred their rights, than from the grandees, who defended against royal encroachment, first, their sovereignty, and next, their political importance. From Philip Augustus to Louis XI they struggled for the preservation of their own power; from Louis XI to Louis XIV, to become the ministers of the royal power. The *Fronde* was the last campaign of the aristocracy. Under Louis XIV absolute monarchy was definitively established, and ruled without opposition. This shews that despotism is more recent than oligarchy, and oligarchy more recent than liberty. The latter, in whatever manner we consider it, has been justly re-established in our days. If we make the nature of governments a question of time, it is the most ancient; of justice, it is founded on the rights of man; of power, it is actually established.

The government of France, from the reign of Louis XIV to the revolution, was arbitrary rather than despotic; for the monarchs had much greater power than they exercised: their immense authority was resisted only by the feeblest barriers. The crown disposed of the person by *lettres-de-cachet;* of property, by confiscations; of income, by imposts. It is true, certain bodies possessed a means of defence, which they called privileges; but these privileges were seldom respected. The parliament had the privilege of consenting to or refusing an impost; but the king enforced registration by a bed of justice [lit de justice] and punished its members by letters of exile. The noblesse were exempt from imposts; the clergy had the privilege of taxing themselves by voluntary grants. Some of the provinces had the privilege of compounding for these imposts, and others, that of making the assessment themselves. Such were the small guarantees of France; and even these were still turned to the advantage of the favoured classes, and to the oppression of the people.

France, thus enslaved, was also most wretchedly organized: the excesses of power were less insupportable than their unequal

distribution. Divided into three orders, which were again subdivided into several classes, the nation was abandoned to all the evils of despotism, and all the miseries of inequality. The noblesse were divided into courtiers, who lived on the favours of the prince, or—in other words—on the labours of the people, and who obtained either the government of the provinces, or high stations in the army; upstarts, who directed the administration, and were appointed to intendancies, and made a trade of the provinces; lawyers, who administered justice, and monopolized its appointments; and territorial barons, who oppressed the country by the exercise of their private feudal privileges, which had displaced the general political rights. The clergy were divided into two classes, of which one was destined for the bishoprics and abbacies and their rich revenues, the other to apostolic labours and to poverty. The *tiers-état*, borne down by the court and harassed by the noblesse, was itself separated into corporations, which retaliated upon each other the evils and the oppression which they endured from their superiors. They possessed scarcely a

third part of the soil, upon which they were compelled to yield feudal services to their lords, tithes to the priests, and imposts to the king. In compensation for so many sacrifices, they enjoyed no rights, had no share in the administration, and were admitted to no public employments.

This order of things could not continue for ever; and it was the prince himself who was destined to bring it to a crisis. His extravagance had exhausted his means, and destroyed the equilibrium between his necessities and his revenues; by patronising genius, he had invited examination into his government, and conferred the power of intelligence on the enslaved and humiliated *tiers-état;* incessantly requiring new imposts, he had made himself dependant, first on those who authorized, and next on those who contributed them; and he provoked the resistance of the nation, after having emboldened the opposition of the parliaments. It is thus that courts are tempted to indulge in the prodigality which arbitrary power places within their reach; that extravagance leads to exhaustion, and exhaustion to reform. It is always from this very exube-

rance of power that a government creates its necessities, and by these necessities that its power is finally subverted.

Louis XIV had stretched the springs of absolute monarchy too far, and exercised them too violently. Irritated by the troubles of his youth, smitten with the love of domination, he swept away all resistance, forbade all opposition; that of the aristocracy, which was manifested by revolt; that of the parliaments, which was shown in remonstrances; and that of the Protestants, which exercised itself by a liberty of conscience which the church deemed heretical, and the court held to be factious. Louis XIV subdued the grandees by calling them to court, where they received in pleasures and in royal favour the price of their dependance. The parliament, which hitherto had been the instrument of the crown, wished now to become a counterpoise to it; and the prince haughtily imposed on it a submission and silence of sixty years. The revocation of the edict of Nantes was the finishing stroke to these acts of despotism. But arbitrary power is not content barely with non-resistance: we must, moreover, admire and imitate it. Having annihi-

lated free-agency, it persecutes the conscience, for it must be in action, and hunt out victims when they no longer present themselves. The immense power of Louis XIV was exercised at home against heretics, abroad against Europe; oppression found ambitious men to counsel it, soldiers to serve it, successes to encourage it; the wounds of France were covered with laurels, and its groans were stifled by the songs of victory. But, in the end, men of genius died, victories ceased, industry emigrated, money disappeared; and he saw full well that tyranny, even in its success, exhausts its means, and that it devours in advance the resources of the future.

The death of Louis XIV was the signal for re-action: it produced a sudden change from intolerance to incredulity, and from the spirit of obedience to the spirit of discussion. The court prosecuted wars which were ruinous without being brilliant; it engaged in a silent contest with opinion, an avowed one with the parliament. Anarchy was introduced into its bosom, the government fell into the hands of mistresses, the sovereign power was rapidly declining, and opposition was every day making new progress.

The position and the system of the parliaments had changed. The royal authority had invested them with a power which they now turned against it. As soon as the ruin of the aristocracy was completed by their common efforts, the parliaments, like all allies after victory, separated themselves from their royal associate. The parliament sought to domineer over the crown, and the crown endeavoured to crush an instrument which, in ceasing to be useful, had become dangerous. This struggle, favourable to the monarch under Louis XIV, alternating with successes and reverses under Louis XV, terminated only at the revolution. From its very nature, the parliament had only been called on to serve as an instrument. As the exercise of its prerogative, and its ambition as a body, had induced it to succour the feeble and oppose the strong, it served, in turn, the crown against the aristocracy, and the nation against the crown. Hence it became so popular during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV, although it opposed the court only in the spirit of rivalry. Opinion demanded no account of its motives; it did not applaud its ambition, but its resistance; and it supported the parliament, be-

cause by the parliament it had been defended. Emboldened by these encouragements, it became formidable to the sovereign authority. After having stemmed the will of the most imperious and the best obeyed of sovereigns; after having opposed itself to the seven years' war; after having obtained the control of the financial operations, and the destruction of the Jesuits, its resistance became so energetic and so frequent, that the court, everywhere encountering its interposition, found that it must either obey or subdue it. The court therefore put in execution the plan of disorganization proposed by the chancellor Maupeou. This intrepid man, who, to use his own expression, had offered *to rescue the crown from the hands of its jailor*, replaced this hostile by a devoted parliament, and enforced the same change through all the magistracy of France, which had followed the example of that of Paris.

But the time for manœuvres of state policy had passed away. Arbitrary power was so discredited, that the king hazarded the exercise of it with distrust, and encountered even the opposition of the court. A new power had sprung up, the power of Opinion, which,

without being recognised, was not, therefore, the less felt, and whose decrees were already becoming sovereign. The nation, hitherto nothing, resumed its rights by degrees; first it influenced power, and then participated in it. This is the march of all bodies which raise themselves: before being admitted into the government, they act on it externally, and from the right of control they pass to that of co-operation. The epoch at which the *tiers-état* was to have a share in the government had arrived. It had in other times made fruitless, because premature, attempts. It was then too little emancipated, it had nothing of that which establishes superiority and confers power; for we can vindicate our rights only so far as we are able to enforce them. Thus it occupied the third order only in insurrections, as it did in the states-general. Everything was done with it, nothing for it. Under the feudal tyranny the *tiers-état* had served the kings against the lords, and under the ministerial and fiscal tyranny it had served the grandees against the kings; but in the first case it was only employed by the crown, and in the second by the aristocracy. The struggle was declared in a sphere, and

for interests, not its own. When the grandees were finally prostrated at the epoch of the *Fronde*, the *tiers-état* laid down its arms; which proves how secondary was the part it acted.

After an age of absolute submission, it reappeared in the arena, but on its own account. The past recurs no more; and it was as little possible for the noblesse to recover from their defeats, as at the present day it would be for absolute monarchy to rise up from its overthrow. Another antagonist of the court was necessary; for there must always be one, since power never can be without a candidate. The *tiers-état*, whose wealth, firmness, and intelligence, were daily increasing, was destined to combat and dispossess it. The parliament did not constitute a class, but a body, and in this new contest could assist in the displacement of power, but could not appropriate it to itself.

The court itself had favoured the progress of the *tiers-état*, and had contributed to the diffusion of intelligence, the great source of its power. The most absolute of princes had aided the efforts of genius, and, without intending it, had created public opinion. In

encouraging panegyric, he had prepared for censure; for he could not solicit examination in his favour, without inducing it also to his disparagement. When praises were exhausted, discussion began; and the philosophers of the eighteenth century succeeded to the scholars of the seventeenth. Everything became the object of their research and their reflections,—governments, and religion, and laws, and their abuses; they discovered the rights, pointed out the wants, and proclaimed the wrongs of mankind. A vigorous and enlightened public opinion was formed, which acted upon the government, and whose voice could not be stifled. It even converted those whom it attacked; courtiers through their politeness, power from necessity, submitted to its decisions; and the age of reform was prepared by the age of philosopy, as this had been prepared by that of the fine arts.

This was the condition of France when Louis XVI ascended the throne. Finances which neither the regenerating administration of the cardinal de Fleury, nor the bankrupt administration of the abbé Terray, could retore; the royal authority deranged, parliaments intractable, public opinion imperious;

such were the embarrassments which the new reign inherited from its predecessors. Of all princes, Louis XVI was he whose intentions and whose virtues were best adapted to his times. He was weary of arbitrary power, and anxious to abandon it; he was irritated by the burthensome licentiousness of the court of Louis XV, and he was a man of pure manners and inexpensive habits; ameliorations now become indispensable, were loudly demanded; and he felt the public necessities, and made it his glory to satisfy them. But it was as difficult to operate good as to continue evil; for he must have the power to make the privileged class submit to reforms, or the nation to abuses; and Louis XVI was neither a regenerator nor a despot. He was wanting in that sovereign will which alone accomplishes great changes in states, and which is as necessary for the monarch who would limit, as for him who would aggrandize his power. Louis XVI had just views, and amiable dispositions; but he was without decision of character, and had no perseverance in his measures. His projects of amelioration encountered obstacles which he had not foreseen, and which he could not vanquish. Thus he fell by his

attempts at reform, as another would have fallen by his refusal. His reign, up to the period of the states-general, was a long tissue of ameliorations which produced no result.

His choice of Maurepas as prime-minister, when he ascended the throne, contributed greatly to stamp this character of irresolution on his reign. Young, strongly impressed with his duties and his insufficiency, he had recourse to the experience of an old man, who had been disgraced under Louis XV, for opposition to his mistresses. But instead of a sage, he found a courtier, whose counsels extended their pernicious influence through his whole life. Maurepas cared little for the good of France, and the glory of his master; he was attentive only to win his favour. He rendered the mind of Louis XVI uncertain, his character irresolute; he habituated him to half-measures, to changes of system, to inconsistent exertions of power, and, above all, to the necessity of doing everything by another, and nothing by himself.

Maurepas had the choice of the ministers. These maintained themselves in his favour, as he maintained himself in that of the king. Frivolous in everything that concerned the

government, he did not judge of systems of administration by their utility, or of ministers by their conduct, but both the one and the other by the temper of the court. In fear of endangering his own power, he kept from the administration men of strong connexions, and called into it new men, who required his aid to maintain their places and effect their reforms. Thus he successively introduced to the direction of affairs Turgot, Malesherbes, and Necker. But they had too many conditions to fulfil. If they essayed amelioration, they incurred the displeasure of the courtiers or the privileged; if they continued abuses, they roused the people to discontent; if they won the favour of the monarch, they alarmed the minister; and in all these we see so many causes of their deposition. Thus these popular ministers gave way to courtier-ministers, who were just as unable to keep their places.

Turgot, Malesherbes, and Necker, attempted useful reforms, each in the department of state which had been the special object of his labours. Malesherbes, descended from a family of lawyers, inherited the virtues without the prejudices of a parliamentarian. With

a liberal mind he combined the most amiable dispositions. Oppression appeared to him at once illegal and wicked. He wished to restore to every one his rights, to the accused the power of being defended, to Protestants liberty of conscience, to writers the freedom of the press, and to all Frenchmen security of person; he proposed the abolition of torture, the re-establishment of the edict of Nantes, the suppression of *lettres de cachet*, and that of the censorship. Turgot, possessing a vigorous and comprehensive understanding, an energy and firmness of character very uncommon, attempted the realization of projects still more extensive. He joined himself with Malesherbes, in order to effect, with his support, the establishment of a system of administration which should restore unity in the government and equality in the state. This virtuous citizen was constantly employed in ameliorating the condition of the people. He undertook alone that which the revolution afterwards effected, the suppression of privileges and feudal services. He proposed to deliver the country from the tax of feudal service *(corvée)*, the provinces from their barriers, commerce from internal duties, industry

from its restraints, and finally to make the nobility and the clergy contribute to the imposts in the same proportion as the *tiers-état*. This great minister, of whom Malesherbes said, "*he had the head of Bacon and the heart of l' Hôpital,*" wished, by means of provincial assemblies, to familiarize the nation with public life, and prepare it for the return of the states-general. Necker, a stranger, a banker, and a steward rather than a statesman, showed himself less bold than Turgot: he had been called to the administration to supply the court with money, and he availed himself of its necessities to procure the liberties of the people. He restored the finances by means of order, and made the provinces concur in a proportionate manner in their administration. His ideas were just and comprehensive, and consisted in putting the receipts on a level with the expenditure, and in reducing the latter; in employing imposts in ordinary times, and loans when imperious circumstances made it necessary to draw on the future for the uses of the present; in making the provincial assemblies assess the imposts; and, in order to facilitate the negotiation of loans, in rendering a clear and regular statement of accounts.

This system was founded on the nature of a loan, which, having need of credit, requires publicity of administration; and on that of an impost, which, having need of consent, confers a voice in the distribution of it. Whenever the government is in want, and requires money, if it address itself to lenders, it must exhibit the state of its finances; if it address itself to contributors, it must grant them a share of power. Thus the loans led to the publication of the budget, and imposts to the states-general; two events, of which the first placed the ruling power under the jurisdiction of opinion, the second under that of the people.

But Necker, less impatient indeed for reforms than Turgot, although he wished to compensate the abuses which his predecessor would have destroyed, was equally unsuccessful. Under the regime of partial privileges and general slavery, all objects of public good were impracticable. These different ministers encountered invincible obstacles, and they quitted power. Turgot had discontented the courtiers by his ameliorations, offended the parliament by the abolition of *corvées*, alarmed the old minister by the ascendancy which his virtue had given him over Louis XVI.

Louis XVI abandoned everything, saying at the same time, that he and Turgot were the only persons who wished the good of the people: so much reason is there to envy the condition of kings! Necker, without exciting regret so vivid, experienced the same fate. His economy had disgusted the courtiers; the labours of the provincial assemblies had incurred the disapprobation of the parliaments, who wished to preserve for themselves the monopoly of resistance; and the prime-minister could not pardon him an appearance of credit.

The death of Maurepas followed shortly after the retreat of Necker. The queen replaced him in the favour of the sovereign, and inherited all his influence over him. This amiable but weak prince was incapable of directing himself. His wife, young, beautiful, active, ambitious, took into her hands in a great measure the reins of government. Yet we may say that the daughter of Maria Theresa had too little of her mother; her love of domination was mixed with much frivolity, and she distributed the power which she had thus assumed, to men who caused the ruin of the state and her own. Maurepas, who distrusted courtier-ministers, had always chosen

popular ministers; it is true that he had not supported them, but still, if he accomplished no good, he aggravated no evil. After his death, courtier-ministers succeeded to popular ministers, and rendered inevitable, by their mal-administration, the crisis which the others wished to prevent by their reforms. This difference in the choice of ministers is very remarkable, and led by a change of men to a change of measures in the administration. The revolution dates from this epoch; the abandonment of reforms, and the return of licentiousness, accelerated its approach and embittered its violence.

Calonne was called from the intendancy of a province to the general control of the finances. This department of state, the most important of all, had become exceedingly difficult to fill. There had been already two successors to Necker, neither of whom could supply his place, when it was put into the hands of Calonne. Calonne was daring, acute, eloquent; a man of accomplished manners, and of a fertile but superficial genius. Whether by accident or design, he adopted a system of administration completely opposed to that of his predecessor. Necker had counsel-

led economy; Calonne boasted prodigality. Necker had fallen by the courtiers; Calonne wished to maintain his power by them. His sophisms were supported by largesses; he convinced the queen by splendid entertainments, and the great lords by pensions; he created vast activity in the finances, in order to induce a belief in the justness of his views by the number and facility of his operations; and he deceived even the capitalists by the punctuality with which at first he made his payments. He continued loans after the peace, and exhausted the credit which the wise conduct of Necker had obtained for the government. Arrived at this point, deprived of a resource which he had not the skill to husband, to prolong his power he resorted to imposts. But to whom should he address himself? The people could pay nothing, the privileged would offer nothing. But the emergency admitted not of indecision; and Calonne, trusting to its novelty, convened an assembly of the notables. A resort to the assistance of others is the crisis of a system of prodigality. The minister, who has been raised by largesses, cannot maintain his power by begging.

The notables, chosen by the government from the high classes, was a ministerial assembly, having no proper existence or mandatory authority. It was thus that Calonne, to avoid the parliament or states-general, addressed himself to an assembly more subordinate, and which he thought would therefore be more manageable. But composed of the privileged, it was little disposed to make sacrifices. It became still less so when it beheld the abyss into which a devouring administration had plunged itself. It discovered with dismay, that within a few years loans had been raised to the amount of one thousand six hundred and forty-six millions of francs, and that there was in the revenue an annual deficit of a hundred and forty millions. This discovery was the signal for the fall of Calonne. He retired, and was succeeded by the archbishop of Toulouse, Brienne, his antagonist in the assembly. Brienne believed that the majority of the notables were devoted to his purposes, because they had joined him in combating Calonne. But the privileged felt as little disposition to make sacrifices to him as to his predecessor: they had seconded his

attacks, which were in their interest, and not his ambition, to which they were strangers.

The archbishop of Toulouse, who has been accused of acting without a plan, could not in fact have had one. It was not possible to continue the extravagance of Calonne, and it was too late to return to the economizing schemes of Necker. Economy, which at a former epoch, was a means of safety, was no longer so in this. He must either have recourse to imposts, and the parliament opposed itself to them; or to loans, and credit was exhausted; or to sacrifices on the part of the privileged, and they would not make them. Brienne, whose whole object through life had been to obtain the ministry, and the difficulty of whose position was only equalled by the feebleness of his means, attempted everything, and succeeded in nothing. He possessed a mind active, but without force, a character impetuous, but without perseverance. Bold before the execution of a plan, but feeble afterwards, he lost himself by his irresolution, his want of forecast, and his change of measures. He had only bad parts to take, but he did not know how to decide

upon one and follow it up. This was the true error of his policy.

The assembly of notables shewed itself very unmanageable and parsimonious. After having approved the establishment of the provincial assemblies, a regulation in the corn-trade, the suppression of *corvées*, and a new tax on stamps, it dissolved itself. It spread through all France what it had discovered concerning the necessities of the throne, the misrule of the ministers, the dilapidations of the court, and the irremediable miseries of the people. Brienne, deprived of this assistance, recurred to imposts, as a resource which had for some time been abandoned. He demanded the registration of two edicts, that of stamps, and one for a territorial subsidy. But the parliament, which was then in its full vigour, in the full career of its ambition, and to which the financial embarrassments of the government offered a certain means of increasing its power, refused the registration. Banished to Troyes, it became weary of exile; and the minister recalled it, on condition that it would accept the edicts. But this was only a suspension of hostilities: the necessities of the crown soon rendered

the struggle more active and rancorous. The minister had new demands of money to make; his existence was attached to the success of several successive loans, to the amount of four hundred and forty millions; it was absolutely necessary to obtain the registration of them.

Brienne expected the opposition of the parliament. He therefore made them register this edict in a bed of justice; and in order to appease the magistracy and public opinion, in the same sitting the Protestants were re-established in their rights, and Louis XVI promised the annual publication of the state of the finances, and the convocation of the states-general before the expiration of five years. But these concessions were insufficient; the parliament refused the registration, and opposed itself to the tyranny of the ministers. Some of its members, and among others the duke of Orleans, were exiled. The parliament, by a decree, protested against the *lettres de cachet*, and demanded the recall of its members. The decree was quashed by the king, and confirmed by the parliament. The war between them raged with increasing violence. The magistracy of Paris was sup-

ported by all the magistracy of France, and encouraged by public opinion. It proclaimed the rights of the nation, its own incompetency in matters of impost, and—become liberal by interest, rendered generous by oppression, it resisted the arbitrary detentions, and demanded the regular convocation of the states-general. After this act of courage, it decreed that its own members should be irremoveable, and the incompetence of any one who should usurp its functions. This bold manifesto was followed by the arrest of two parliamentarians, Epréménil and Goislard, by the reform of the body, and the establishment of a *cour plénière*.

Brienne had found that the opposition of the parliament was systematic, and that it was renewed at each demand for subsidies, or each authorization of a loan. Exile was only a momentary remedy, which suspended opposition—without destroying it. He projected therefore the reducing of this body to judicial functions; and he associated with himself Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, in the execution of this enterprise. Lamoignon was a bold statesman; he had audacity, and with the energetic perseverance of Mau-

peou he combined a greater share of reflection and integrity. But he miscalculated the force of power, and the extent of what it was possible to accomplish in his time. Maupeou had renewed the parliament by a change in its members; Lamoignon wished to disorganize it. The former of these expedients, had it been successful, could have produced only a temporary repose; the latter ought to have produced a final result, since it would have destroyed the power which the other was content with displacing. But the reform of Maupeou was transient, and that of Lamoignon could not be effected. The execution of this last scheme was nevertheless sufficiently well-conducted. In one day all the magistracy of France was displaced, in order to make way for the new judicial organization. The keeper of the seals divested the parliament of Paris of its political attributes, in order to clothe with them a *cour plénière*, ministerially composed; and he reduced its judicial competence in favour of the bailiwicks, whose cognizance he extended. But public opinion was indignant; the châtelet protested; the provinces rose in rebellion; and the *cour plénière* could neither form itself nor act.

Troubles broke out in Dauphiny, in Brittany, in Provence, in Flanders, in Languedoc, and in Béarn. The ministry, instead of the regular opposition of the parliaments, encountered an opposition still more vigorous and factious;—the noblesse, the commons, the provincial states, and even the clergy, made a part of it. Brienne, harassed by the want of money, had convoked an extraordinary assembly of the clergy, which immediately voted an address to the king, requiring from him the abolition of his *cour plénière*, and the prompt convocation of the states-general. They alone could repair the disorder of the finances, re-assure the public creditor, and put an end to these conflicts of authority.

The archbishop of Sens, by his contest with the parliament, had adjourned the financial difficulty, by creating a difficulty of power. As soon as this last ceased, the other re-appeared, and determined the retirement of the minister. Alike unsuccessful in obtaining either imposts or loans, unable to make use of the *cour plénière*, and unwilling to recal the parliament, Brienne tried a last resource, and promised the states-general. But this was the termination of his career.

He had been called to the department of finance to remedy embarrassments, which he had augmented; to find money, which he had not been able to obtain. So far from this, he had exasperated the nation, stimulated into resistance the several bodies of the state, compromised the authority of the government, and rendered the convocation of the states-general (in the opinion of the court the worst means of getting supplies) inevitable. He yielded. The occasion of his fall was a suspension of the payment of the *rentes* of the state, which was in fact the commencement of a bankruptcy. This minister has been the most decried, because he came the last. Heir to the faults and the embarrassments of the post, he had to struggle against the difficulties of his position with the feeblest means. He tried intrigue, oppression; he exiled the parliament, suspended it, disorganized it; everything was an obstacle in his way—nothing aided him. After enduring a long series of attacks, he fell, from lassitude and feebleness—I dare not say from want of skill; for, had he been much more skilful and sagacious—had he been a Richelieu or a Sully—he would still have fallen. It was no longer in

the power of any individual either to obtain money, or to exercise oppression; and we must say, in acquittal of Brienne, that the position from which he was unable to extricate himself, he had not made, and that his only error was presumption in accepting it. He perished by the mal administration of Calonne, as Calonne had profited, in his dilapidations, by the confidence which Necker had inspired. The one destroyed the credit—the other, wishing to re-establish it by force, destroyed the authority—of government.

The states-general had become the only means of government, and the last resource of the throne. It had been demanded with emulation by the parliament and the peers of the realm, on the 13th July 1787; by the states of Dauphiny, in the assembly of Vizille; by the clergy, in its assembly of Paris. The provincial states had prepared the public mind for it; the notables had been its harbingers. The king, after having promised, on the 18th December 1787, the convocation within five years, on the 8th August 1788, fixed the opening for the 1st May 1789. Necker was recalled, the parliament re-established, the

cour plénière abolished, the bailiwicks destroyed, the provinces satisfied; and the new minister made every arrangement for the election of the deputies, and for the holding of the states.

At this juncture, a great change took place in the opposition, which had hitherto been unanimous. The administration under Brienne had encountered the resistance of all the bodies of the state, because it had wished to oppress them. It incurred under Necker the resistance of these same bodies, who were wishing to secure the power for themselves, and oppression for the people. From being despotic, it had become national; and still they had opposed it. The parliament had maintained a contest of authority, and not of public good; the noblesse had re-united themselves to the *tiers-état*, rather against the government than in behalf of the people. Each of these bodies had demanded the states-general, in the hope—the parliament of ruling them as they had done in 1614, and the noblesse of resuming their lost power. *Thus the magistracy proposed, as the model for the states-general of* 1789, *their form in* 1614, *and opinion abandoned it;* the noblesse

refused to consent to the double representation of the commons, and division sprang up between these two orders.

This double representation was demanded by the intelligence of the epoch, by the necessity of reform, by the importance which the *tiers-état* had acquired. It had been already admitted into the provincial assemblies. Brienne, before leaving the ministry, having made an appeal to writers, in order to know what would be the best mode of composing and holding the states-general, the celebrated pamphlet of Sièyes on the *tiers-état,* and that of Entraigues on the *states-general,* were added to the works on the rights of the people. Opinion declaring itself more decidedly every day, Necker, wishing to satisfy it, and not daring,—desirous of conciliating all orders, of obtaining the approbation of all parties—once more convoked the notables. He had believed that they would consent to the doubling of the *tiers ;* they refused it, and he was compelled to decide, in defiance of them, that which he should have decided without them. Necker did not know how to avoid contest by settling all difficulties in advance. He did not take the initial measure on the doubling of

the *tiers*, as in the sequel he did not take it on the vote by order or by poll. When the states-general were assembled, the solution of this second question, on which depended the fate of power and that of the people, was abandoned to force.

Although Necker had been unable to prevail on the notables to adopt the doubling of the *tiers*, he procured its adoption by the council. He obtained the admission of *curés* into the order of the clergy, and of protestants into that of the *tiers*. The assemblies of the burghers were convoked for the elections; every one exerted himself to procure the nomination of men of his own party, and to publish pamphlets and papers expressive of his own opinion. The parliament had little influence in the elections; the court none at all. The noblesse chose some popular deputies; but the most part were devoted to the interests of their order, and as opposed to the *tiers-état* as to the oligarchy of the great families of the court. The clergy nominated bishops and abbots favourable to their privileges, and *curés* favourable to the popular cause, which was their own. Finally, the *tiers-état* chose men enlightened, firm, and unanimous in their

views. The opening of the states-general was appointed for the 5th May 1789.

Thus was brought about the revolution. The court tried in vain to prevent it, as in the sequel it tried vainly to quash it. Under the direction of Maurepas, the king appointed popular ministers, and made essays of reform; under the direction of the queen, he appointed courtier ministers, and made essays of authority. Oppression was as little successful as reform. After having uselessly resorted to the courtiers for economy, to the parliaments for imposts, to the capitalists for loans, he had recourse to a new class of contributors, and made an appeal to the privileged. He demanded from the notables, composed of the noblesse and the clergy, a participation in the changes of the state, which they refused. Then only he addressed himself to all France, and convened the states-general. He treated with bodies before treating with the nation; and it was only on the refusal of the first, that he appealed to a power of which he dreaded the interposition and the support. He preferred partial assemblies, which, being isolated, would be secondary to a general assembly, which, representing all the interests

of the realm, would combine all its power. Up to this great epoch, each year saw the necessities of the government increase, and resistance extend itself. The opposition passed from the parliament to the noblesse, and from the noblesse to the clergy, and from them all to the people. In proportion as each of them participated in power, it commenced its opposition, until all these particular oppositions were confounded in one great national opposition, or dwindled into nothing before it. The states-general only decreed a revolution which was already accomplished.

CHAPTER I.

Opening of the states-general.—Opinions of the court, of the ministry, of the different bodies of the realm touching the states.—Verification of the powers; question of the vote by order or by poll.—The order of the commons forms itself into the national assembly.—The court causes the hall of the states to be closed; oath of the tennis-court.—The majority of the order of the clergy re-unites itself to the order of the commons.—Royal sitting of the 23d June; its inutility.—Projects of the court; events of the 12th, 13th, and 14th July; retirement of Necker; insurrection of Paris; formation of the national guard; siege and capture of the Bastille.—The consequences of the 14th July.—Decrees of the night of the 4th August.—Character of the revolution which had been operated.

The 5th of May 1789 was appointed for the opening of the states-general. The watching, a religious ceremonial, preceded their installation. The king, his family, his ministers, the deputies of the three orders, went in procession from the church of Notre-Dame to the church of St. Louis, to hear mass at the opening; they beheld with intoxication the return of this national solemnity, of which

France had been so long deprived. It bore the aspect of a festival. An immense multitude, from all parts, had resorted to Versailles; the occasion was magnificent, the pomp of decoration had been lavished with prodigality; the chauntings of music, the benevolent and satisfied air of the king, the beauty and noble deportment of the queen, and above all, the common expectations, inspired and animated all minds. Nevertheless they beheld with pain, the etiquettes, the costume, and the subordination of the states which had been observed in 1614. The clergy, in cassocks, large cloaks and square bonnets, or in a purple robe and lawn sleeves, occupied the first place. Then came the noblesse, habited in black, having the vest and facing of silver cloth, the cravat of lace, and the hat with a white plume, turned up after the fashion of Henry IV. The modest *tiers-état* were in the last place, clothed in black, a short cloak, muslin cravat, and the hat without plumes or loops. At the church the same distinctions were observed, as to the places of the three orders.

The next day the royal sitting was held in the hall of the privy treasury. The galleries

of the amphitheatre were filled with spectators. The deputies were called and introduced by the government according to the order established in 1614. The clergy were led to the right, the noblesse to the left, and the commons, in front of the throne, were placed at the bottom of the hall. The most animated applauses announced the deputation of Dauphiné; that of Crépi in Valois, of which the duke of Orléans made a part; and that of Provence. M. Necker was also greeted on his entering with general enthusiasm. The public favour attached itself to all those who had contributed to the convocation of the states-general. · When the deputies and ministers had taken their places, the king made his entrance, followed by the queen, the princes, and a brilliant retinue. The hall resounded with plaudits on his arrival. Louis XVI seated himself on his throne, and when he had put on his hat, the three orders covered themselves at the same time. The commons, contrary to the usage of the ancient states, imitated, without hesitation, the clergy and the noblesse. The time had passed away when it was necessary for the third estate to stand uncovered and speak upon its knees.

They waited in the most profound silence for the king's address; they were anxious to ascertain the real dispositions of the government to the states. Whether it would assimilate the new assembly to those which had been formerly held, or whether that importance would be attached to it which the necessities of the state, and the magnitude of circumstances, required.

"Gentlemen," said the monarch, with emotion, "this day, which my heart has so anxiously expected, has at length arrived, and I see myself surrounded by the representatives of the nation I have the glory to command. A long interval has elapsed since the last holding of the states-general; and the convocation of these assemblies appears to have fallen into desuetude. I have not hesitated to re-establish a usage from which the realm may derive new energy, and which may open out to the nation new sources of prosperity." These first words, which promised much, were followed only by explanations upon the debt, and announcements of reduction in the expenditure. The king, instead of wisely tracing out to the states the march which they ought to follow, invited the orders

to act in harmony with each other, told them the necessities of the state, declared his apprehensions of innovation, and complained of the inquietude of the public mind without announcing any measure which might satisfy it. He was nevertheless loudly cheered when he ended by these words, which painted well his intentions. "Everything which you can expect from the tenderest regard for the public welfare, everything which you can demand from a sovereign, the fast friend of his people, you may, you ought to hope from my sentiments. May, gentlemen, a happy union reign in this assembly, and may this epoch become henceforward memorable for the happiness and prosperity of the realm! This is the desire of my heart, the most ardent of my wishes; this is, in a word, the reward which I expect for the rectitude of my intentions, and my affection for my people."

Barentin, the keeper of the seals, spoke next. His harangue was a mere rhetorical declamation on the subject of the states-general, and on the favours of the king. After a long preamble, he adverted to the questions of importance. "His majesty," he said, "in granting a double representation in favour of

the most numerous of the three orders, that on which the burden of impost principally falls, has not changed the form of the ancient deliberations. Although the vote by poll, producing only a single result, appears to have the advantage of manifesting more clearly the general will, the king has been desirous that this new form should be put in operation only by the free consent of the states-general and with the approbation of his majesty. But in whatever way we pronounce upon this question, whatever distinctions be made among the different objects which may come under discussion, we cannot doubt that the most perfect agreement will unite the three orders relative to the imposts." The government was not opposed to the vote by poll in matters respecting money, because it was more expeditious, whilst on political questions it declared itself in favour of the vote by the three orders severally, because this was better adapted to prevent innovation. The government wished to attain its object, subsidies, without permitting the nation to attain its object also, which was reform. The manner in which the keeper of the seals defined the privileges of the states-general, manifested

still more the intentions of the court. He reduced them, in some degree, to the examination of the impost, in order to vote it; to the discussion of a law upon the press, in order to impose restrictions on it; and to the reform of the civil and criminal legislation. He proscribed all other changes, and he exclaimed, "Just demands have been acceded to; the king has not been influenced by indiscreet murmurs, he has deigned to cover them with his indulgence; he has pardoned even the expression of these false and strange maxims, in favour of which they would substitute pernicious chimeras for the unalterable principles of monarchy. You will reject, gentlemen, with indignation, these dangerous innovations, which the enemies of the public weal would confound with the happy and necessary changes which would produce that regeneration which is the first wish of his majesty."

This harangue manifested either great ignorance of the wishes of the nation, or great hardihood in combating them. The assembly expected another language from M. Necker. He was the popular minister, he had obtained

the double representation, and they had hoped that he would approve the vote by poll, by which alone the *tiers-état* could avail itself of its numbers. But he spoke with great reserve and caution ; his harangue, which lasted three hours, was a long budget of finances ; and when, after having wearied the assembly, he touched upon the question which occupied all minds, he left it undecided, that he might neither commit himself with the court nor the people.

The government had very imperfectly comprehended the importance of the states-general. The return of this assembly, in itself announced a great revolution. Ardently wished for by the nation, they reappeared at an epoch when the ancient monarchy had fallen, and when they alone were capable of reforming the state, and purveying for the necessities of the throne. The embarrassments of the time, the nature of their summons, the choice of their members, everything declared that they were no longer convoked as contributors, but as legislators. The right of regenerating France was accorded them by the decree of opinion, devolved on them by

the budget, and they found in the enormity of abuses, and in the encouragement of the people, the power to undertake and accomplish this great task.

To the monarch it was of the last importance that he should associate himself in their labours. He would thus have been able to restore his power, and to guarantee himself from a revolution, by operating it himself. Had he taken the first step in these changes, and prescribed with firmness, but with justice, the new order of things; had he, realizing the wishes of France, defined the rights of the citizens, the prerogatives of the states-general, the limits of the royal power; had he renounced arbitrary sway for himself, inequality for the noblesse, privileges for corporate bodies; finally, had he executed all the reforms which were demanded by opinion, and which were executed by the constituent assembly, this resolution would have prevented the destructive dissensions which afterwards blazed forth. But it is rarely that we find a prince who consents to a participation in his power, and who is sufficiently enlightened to yield up that which he will be compelled to part with. Nevertheless, Louis XVI would have done it;

had he been less under the dominion of his household, and had he followed his own inspirations. But the greatest anarchy reigned in the councils of the king. When the states-general assembled, no measure had been taken; no precautions had been provided for the prevention of disputes. Louis XVI floated irresolute between his ministry, directed by Necker, and his court, directed by the queen and some princes of his family.

The minister, satisfied with having obtained the double representation of the *tiers-état*, dreaded the indecision of the king, and the discontent of the court. Not sufficiently appreciating the importance of the revolution, which he contemplated rather as a statesman than as a citizen, he suffered events to take their own course, and flattered himself that he should be able to conduct them, without having done anything to prepare them. He felt that the ancient organization of the states could be no longer maintained; that the existence of the three orders, having each the right of refusal, was a barrier to the execution of reforms, and the march of the administration. He hoped, after the proof of this triple opposition, to reduce the number of the orders,

and procure the adoption of the English government, by uniting the clergy and the noblesse in one chamber, and the *tiers-état* in another. He did not see that, the struggle once begun, his interposition would be unavailing; that half-measures would suit no one; that the weak, by their obstinacy, and the strong, by their natural weight, would refuse this mediating system. Concessions only satisfy before the victory is won.

The court, far from wishing to invest the states-general with a regular form, was desirous of annulling them. It preferred the accidental resistance of the great bodies of the realm, to a participation of authority with a permanent assembly. The separation of the orders favoured its views; it reckoned upon fomenting their discord, and preventing their effectual co-operation. Formerly they had never produced any result, from the defects of their organization; the court hoped the more confidently that the same farce would be acted over again, as the two first orders were little disposed to concur in the reforms solicited by the last. The clergy wished to preserve their privileges, and their opulence; they foresaw very clearly that they should

have many sacrifices to make, and few advantages to gain. The noblesse, on their part, in resuming a political independence which they had long since lost, were ignorant that they would have much more to yield up to the people, than to demand from the sovereign. It was almost entirely in favour of the people that the new revolution was about to operate, and the two first orders were induced to coalesce with the court against it, as not long before they had coalesced with it against the court. Interest alone produced this change of party, and they re-united themselves to the monarch without attachment, as they had defended the people without regard for the public good.

No efforts were spared to maintain the noblesse and the clergy in these dispositions. The deputies of these two orders were seduced by every species of flattering attention. A committee of the most illustrious individuals composing this party, sat at the house of the countess de Polignac; their principal members were admitted there. It was here that they gained over d'Eprémenil and d'Entragues, two of the most ardent defenders of liberty in the parliament before the states-general, and who became afterwards its most decided op-

ponents. It was here that the costume of the deputies of the different orders was regulated, and that they endeavoured to separate them, first by etiquette, then by intrigue, and lastly by force. The remembrance of the ancient states-general governed the court; it believed that it would be able to regulate the present by the past, to restrain Paris by the army, the deputies of the commons by those of the noblesse, to control the states by dividing the orders, and to separate the orders by reviving the ancient usages, which elevated the noblesse and depressed the commons. It was thus that, after the first sitting, they believed that by granting nothing they had placed obstacles in the way of everything.

The day after the opening of the states, the noblesse and the clergy met in their respective chambers, and formed themselves. The commons, to which the double representation had made the hall of the states more suitable, as furnishing better accommodation, waited there for the two other orders; regarded its situation as provisional, its members as presumptive deputies, and adopted a system of inaction until the two others should join it. Then commenced a memorable struggle, of

which the issue was to decide whether the revolution should be accomplished or interdicted. The future condition of France depended on the separation or the re-union of the orders. Most opportunely this important question arose contemporaneously with that of the verification of the powers. The popular deputies justly contended that the verification should be made in common, since, even in rejecting the re-union of the orders, it could not be questioned but that each order had an interest in examining the powers of the other two. The privileged deputies contended, on the other hand, that the orders having a distinct existence, the verification should be several. They felt that a single operation in common would thenceforward render all separation impossible.

The commons, at this delicate epoch, acted with the greatest circumspection, wisdom, and firmness. It was by a series of efforts, which were not always without peril, by successes slow and indecisive, by struggles constantly reviving, that they attained their object. That system of inaction which they adopted from the commencement, was the wisest and most certain plan: there are

occasions when we have only to know how to wait, to be triumphant. The commons were unanimous, and they alone constituted a numerical half of the states-general; the noblesse had among them popular dissidents; the majority of the clergy, composed of some bishops, friends of peace, and a numerous class of curates, which was the *tiers-état* of the church, were favourably disposed towards the commons. Inaction ought, therefore, to lead to a re-union. This was what the *tiers-état* hoped, what the bishops dreaded, and what induced them to offer themselves as mediators. But this mediation led to no result, since the noblesse would not consent to vote by poll, nor the commons to vote by order. Thus these conciliatory conferences, after having been vainly prolonged, were broken off by the noblesse, who declared themselves for the separate verification.

The day after this hostile determination, the commons resolved to declare themselves the assembly of the nation, and, *in the name of the God of peace, and of the public welfare,* invited the clergy to a re-union with them. The court, alarmed by this measure, interposed, to induce the states to resume their

conferences. The first commissioners, to effect reconciliation, had had to settle the differences of the orders; the ministry charged itself with settling the differences of the commissioners. By this means the states depended on a commission, and the commission had for its arbitrator the council of the prince. But these new conferences had no happier termination than the former; they were protracted to a great length, without any of the orders yielding to the other, and the noblesse ended by breaking them off in confirming all its resolutions.

Five weeks had elapsed in these useless parleys. The *tiers-état*, seeing that the moment was come to constitute itself as a substantive body, that longer delay would indispose the nation, whose confidence it had obtained by the refusal of the privileged orders, determined to act, and displayed the same moderation and firmness which it had manifested in its inertia. Mirabeau announced that a deputy of Paris had a motion to make; and Sièyes, naturally timid, but of an enterprising mind, who had the authority of superior knowledge, and who, more than any other person, was calculated to move for

a decision, demonstrated the impossibility of agreement, the urgency of the verification, the justice of making it in common, and he made the assembly decree that the noblesse and the clergy should be *invited* to meet in the hall of the states, in order to assist in the verification, which would take place *whether they were absent or present.*

The measure of the general verification was followed by another still more energetic. The commons, after having terminated the verification, upon the motion of Sièyes, constituted themselves the *National Assembly.* By this bold measure, the most numerous of the three orders, and the only one whose powers had been legalized, declared itself the representation of France, and rejected the two others till they had undergone the verification, settled the questions hitherto undecided, and changed the assembly of the states into the assembly of the people. The regime of the orders disappeared in the political powers, and this was the first step towards the abolition of the classes in the private regime. This memorable decree of the 17th June was pregnant with the night of the 4th August; but it was necessary to defend the

measures which they had dared to decide, and it was to be apprehended that they would not be able to maintain such a determination.

The first decree of the national assembly was an act of sovereignty. In proclaiming the indivisibility of the legislative power, it had placed the privileged under its dependence. It remained to control the court in the matter of imposts. It declared their illegality; voted, nevertheless, the provisional receipt of them, so long as it should be assembled, and their cessation if it should be dissolved; in consolidating the public debt, it re-assured the capitalists; in appointing a committee of subsistence, it provided for the wants of the people.

This firmness and forecast inspired the enthusiasm of the nation. But they who directed the court felt that the divisions which had been fomented among the orders had failed in their object, and that to obtain this object they must have recourse to other artifices. The royal authority appeared to them alone capable of prescribing the maintenance of the orders, which the opposition of the noblesse had failed to accomplish. They availed themselves of an excursion to Marly,

to withdraw Louis XVI from the prudent and pacific counsels of Necker, and prevail on him to adopt hostile projects. This prince, equally accessible to good and evil counsels, surrounded by a court abandoned to the spirit of party, being supplicated by the interests of his crown, and in the name of religion, yielded to their artifices, and promised everything. They decided that he should present himself in state to the assembly; that he should quash their decrees; that he should command the separation of the orders, as constitutive of the monarchy; and should himself fix all the reforms which the states-general were operating. From that time the secret council occupied the government, and it no longer carried on its operations in secret. Barentin, the keeper of the seals, the count of Artois, the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, alone conducted the plots which they concerted. Necker lost all influence; he had proposed to the king a conciliating plan, which could not now, indeed, avail, although it might have succeeded before the struggle had reached its present animosity. He had advised another meeting in the royal presence, in which should have been granted the vote

by poll in matters of impost, and that by order should still have been permitted to subsist in matters of privilege, and private interest. This measure, which was unfavourable to the people, since it would have tended to maintain abuses by investing the clergy and the noblesse with the power of preventing their abolition, would have been followed by the establishment of two chambers for the next states-general. Necker loved half-measures, and wished to operate, by gradual concessions, a political change which should have been effected at a single stroke. The time was come when its rights must be granted to the nation, or it would take them itself. His project of a royal sitting, although very insufficient, was changed into a state manœuvre by the new council. This council believed that the injunctions of the throne would intimidate the assembly, and that France would be satisfied by some promises of reform: it did not know that the last hazard to which the royal power should be exposed, is that of disobedience.

State manœuvres in general are suddenly disclosed, and surprise those whom they are intended to strike. It was not so in this case;

the preparations contributed to prevent its success. It was apprehended that the clergy would recognize the assembly, by uniting themselves to it; and to prevent this decisive measure, instead of hastening the royal sitting, the hall of the states was closed, in order to suspend the assembly till it should take place. The preparations required by the presence of the monarch were made the pretext. Bailly then presided over the assembly. This virtuous citizen, without seeking for them, had obtained all the honours of the rising spirit of liberty. He was the first president of the assembly, as he had been the first deputy of Paris, and was to be its first mayor. He was beloved by his friends, respected by his enemies; and though endowed with virtues the most bland and enlightened, he possessed in a high degree the courage of duty. Apprized by the keeper of the seals, on the night of the 20th June, of the suspension of the sittings, he shewed himself faithful to the wish of the assembly, and did not shrink from disobeying the court. The next day, at the hour appointed, he appeared at the hall of the states, found it invaded by an armed force, and protested against this act of

despotism. Meantime the deputies arrive, the uproar increases, all are resolved to brave the perils of a re-union. The most indignant wish to go and hold the assembly at Marly, immediately under the windows of the prince; some one cries out the "Tennis-Court." This proposition is applauded; the deputies go there in a body; Bailly is at their head; the crowd follows them with enthusiasm; the soldiers come to escort them; and there, in an empty hall, the deputies of the commons, standing, with their hands upraised, and their hearts full of the sanctity of their mission, swear, with the exception of one individual, that they will not separate until they have given a constitution to France.

This solemn oath, taken on the 20th June, in the face of the nation, was followed, on the 22nd, by an important triumph. The assembly, always deprived of the place of its sittings,—no longer able to meet at the tennis-ground, which the princes had occupied in order that it might be refused, assembled at the church of St. Louis. It was in this sitting that the majority of the clergy united themselves to it, in the midst of the most patriotic transports. Thus the measures taken to intimidate the

assembly raised its courage, and hastened that re-union which they were designed to prevent. It was by two checks that the court preluded the famous sitting of the 23rd June.

It arrived at length. A numerous guard surrounded the hall of the states; the gate was opened to the deputies, but closed to the public. The king appeared surrounded by all the circumstance of power. He was received, contrary to custom, in profound silence. His harangue fanned to its extremity the spirit of discontent, by the tone of authority with which he dictated measures disapproved by opinion and by the assembly. The king complained of a disagreement excited by the court itself; he condemned the conduct of the assembly, which recognised only the order of the *tiers-état*, he quashed all its resolutions; prescribed the conservation of the orders, imposed reforms, and determined their limits, enjoined upon the states-general their acceptance, threatened to dissolve them, and to do alone what the good of the realm might require, if he encountered any opposition from them.

After this scene of authority, which was very little suitable to the occasion, and which

in truth was alien to his own feelings, he commanded the deputies to separate, and withdrew. The clergy and the noblesse obeyed. The deputies of the people, immoveable, silent, indignant, did not quit their seats. They remained some time in this attitude, and Mirabeau, suddenly breaking the silence, "Sirs," he said, "I confess that what you have heard might be for the good of the country, were not the presents of despotism always dangerous. What means this insulting dictation; the display of arms, the violation of the national temple, in order to command you to be happy! Who is it that makes this command? your proxy! Who gives you imperious laws? your proxy! he who ought to receive them from you, from us, gentlemen, who are invested with a political and inviolable priesthood; from us, from whom twenty-five millions of people expect certain happiness, because it ought to be consented to, given and received by all. But the liberty of your deliberations is chained down; a military force environs the assembly! Where are the enemies of the nation? Is Catiline at our gates? I demand that you, clothing yourselves in your dignity and your

legislative authority, be firm in the sacredness of your oath; it does not permit us to separate till we have made the constitution." The grand master of the ceremonies, seeing that the assembly did not separate, was about to remind it of the order of the king. "Go," exclaimed Mirabeau; "tell your master that we are here by the order of the people, and that we shall depart only at the point of the bayonet." "You are to-day," added Sièyes, with calmness, "what you were yesterday; let us deliberate!" and the assembly, full of resolution and majesty, proceeded to its deliberation. Upon the motion of Camus, it persevered in all its decrees; and upon that of Mirabeau, it decreed the inviolability of its members.

On this memorable occasion, the royal authority was lost. The initiation of laws as well as the moral power passed from the monarch to the assembly. Necker, whose retirement had been decreed in the morning, was in the evening entreated to remain, by the queen and the monarch. This minister had disapproved of the royal sitting, and, in refusing to assist at it, had conciliated anew the confidence of the assembly, which he had

forfeited by his hesitation. The period of disgrace was for him the period of popularity. He became then, by his refusal, the ally of the assembly, which declared itself his defender. It is at all epochs necessary to have a leader, whose name shall be the standard of a party; so long as the assembly had to struggle against the court, that man was Necker.

At the first sitting, that part of the clergy, which had re-united itself to the assembly in the church of St. Louis, resumed its seats in it; a few days after, forty-seven members of the noblesse, among whom was the duke of Orléans, also effected their re-union, and the court saw itself compelled to solicit the noblesse and the minority of the clergy to cease from a separation which was become unavailing. The deliberation became general, the orders ceased to exist in point of right, and very soon disappeared in point of fact. They had preserved, even in the common hall, distinct places, which were, however, soon confounded; the vain pre-eminence of particular bodies vanished in the presence of the national authority.

The court, after having tried in vain to prevent the formation of the assembly, was no

longer able, even by associating with it, to direct its labours. It might, nevertheless, by prudence and good faith, have repaired its errors, and made the assembly forget its attacks. There are times when we can volunteer sacrifices, there are others when we can claim nothing but the merit of submitting to them. The monarch, at the opening of the states-general, had the power to make the constitution himself: he must now receive it from the assembly, and, if he had submitted to this position, his condition would infallibly have been ameliorated. But, recovered from the first surprise of defeat, the advisers of Louis XVI determined to resort to the employment of bayonets, after having failed in that of authority. They persuaded him that obedience to his orders, the security of his throne, the maintenance of the laws of the realm, the happiness even of his people, required that he should reduce the assembly to submission; that this last, situated at Versailles, in the vicinity of Paris, two towns which had declared in its favour, ought to be subdued by force; that he must either remove or dissolve it; that this determination was urgent in order to arrest it in its progress; and that it

was necessary, in the execution of these measures, to call in, without delay, the assistance of the troops, to intimidate the assembly, and control Versailles and Paris.

While these plots were being contrived, the deputies opened their legislative labours, and prepared the constitution so impatiently expected, and which they thought should be no longer retarded. Addresses to them were poured in from Paris and the principal towns of France, congratulating them on their wisdom, and encouraging them to pursue the work of regenerating France. In the mean time, the troops arrived in great numbers; Versailles presented the appearance of a camp; the hall of the states was environed with guards, and entrance prohibited to the citizens; Paris was surrounded by different bodies of the army, who seemed posted there to be ready, as occasion might require, for a siege or a blockade. These immense military preparations, trains of artillery arriving from the frontiers, the presence of foreign regiments, whose obedience was unlimited, everything announced some sinister project. The people were agitated, the assembly rushed to inform the throne, and demand from it the return of

the troops. Upon the proposition of Mirabeau, it made an address to the king, respectful and firm; but which was unavailing. Louis XVI declared, that he alone was competent to judge of the necessity of assembling these troops, or of causing their return; that this was only an army of precaution, in order to prevent troubles and to guard the assembly. He offered, moreover, to transfer the assembly to Noyon or Soissons, that is, to place it between two armies, and deprive it of the support of the people.

Paris was in the greatest fermentation; this immense town was unanimous in its devotion to the assembly. The perils by which the representatives of the nation were menaced, its own, and the deficiency in the means of subsistence, disposed it to an insurrection; the capitalists, from motives of interest, and in the fear of a bankruptcy; men of intelligence, and the whole of the middle class, from patriotism; the people, pressed by their wants, ascribing their sufferings to the privileged and the court, desirous of agitation and of novelty, had embraced with enthusiasm the cause of the revolution. It is difficult to conceive the convulsion which

agitated the capital of France; it started from the repose and the silence of servitude, it was surprised by the novelty of its situation, and it was absolutely drunk with liberty and enthusiasm. The press inflamed the public mind, the journals spread the deliberations of the assembly, and thus in some degree assisted at its sittings; the people discussed in the open air, in public places, the questions which were then agitated in its bosom. It was at the Palais-Royal in particular that the assembly of Paris was held. It was always filled by a multitude, which seemed permanent, and which was incessantly renewed. A table served as a tribune, any citizen for an orator; there they harangued upon the dangers of the country, and excited it to resistance. Already, upon a motion made at the Palais-Royal, the prison of the Abbaye had been forced, and the grenadiers of the French guards, who had been imprisoned for refusing to draw upon the people, had been brought out in triumph. This uproar, however, produced no effect; a deputation had solicited, in favour of the prisoners, the interest of the assembly, which had recommended them to the clemency of the king;

they were remitted to prison, and they received their pardon. But this regiment, one of the most brave and complete, was become favourable to the popular cause.

Such were the dispositions of Paris when Necker was removed from the ministry. The court, after having established troops at Versailles, at Sèvres, at the Champ-de-Mars, at St. Denis, thought itself able to execute its plan. It commenced by the exile of Necker, and a complete change in the ministry. The marshal de Broglie, Lagallissonnière, the duke of Vauguyon, the baron de Bréteuil, and the intendant Foulon, were appointed to succeed Puiségur, Montmorin, Luzerne, Saint-Priest, and Necker. The last received, on Saturday, the 11th July, while at dinner, a note from the king, commanding him to quit the realm immediately. He very calmly finished his dinner, without taking any notice of the order he had received, then got into a carriage with madame Necker, as if going to Saint-Ouen, and took the road for Brussels.

The following day, the 12th of July, about four in the afternoon, intelligence was spread in Paris of the disgrace of Necker, and his departure into exile. This measure was con-

sidered as the execution of the plot, of which they had observed the preparations. In a few moments, the town was in an uproar; crowds collected from all parts, more than ten thousand persons met at the Palais-Royal, agitated by this new act of despotism, ready for the most desperate measures, and not knowing where to begin. A young man, more hardy than the rest, an habitual haranguer of the mob, Camille Desmoulins, ascended the tribune, having a pistol in one hand, and exclaiming:—"Citizens, there is not a moment to lose; the removal of Necker is the tocsin for a St. Barthélémy of patriots! This evening all the Swiss and German battalions are coming out of the Champ-de-Mars to slaughter us! There remains for us only one resource; let us rush to arms." They manifested their approval, by the most deafening acclamations. He proposed to take cockades, in order to recognise and defend themselves. "Will ye," said he, "have green, the colour of hope, or red, the colour of the free order of Cincinnatus?" "Green, green," re-echoed the multitude. The speaker descended from the tribune, attached a branch of a tree to his hat; they all imitated him; the chesnut-trees

of Paris were almost despoiled of their leaves, and this troop went in tumult to the house of the sculptor Curtius.

They took the busts of Necker and the duke of Orléans, for it was reported that he also was exiled; they covered them with crape, and carried them in triumph. They traversed the streets St. Martin, St. Denis, St. Honoré, and gained fresh accessions at every step. The people compel all those whom they meet to pull off their hats. The horse patrol being found in their route, the crowd take them for an escort; they advance to the place Vendôme, where they carry the two busts in procession round the statue of Louis XVI. A detachment of the German Royals arrives, wishes to disperse the populace, is put to flight by showers of stones, and the multitude continues its course till it arrives at the place Louis XV. But there it is attacked by the dragoons of the prince of Lambesc; it resists for some moments, is broken; the carrier of one of the busts, and a soldier of the French guards are killed; the people are dispersed, a part flying towards the quays, others falling back upon the boulevards, the remainder throwing themselves

into the Tuileries by the turning bridge. The prince of Lambesc pursues them into the garden, with a drawn sabre, at the head of his troops; he charges an unarmed multitude, while promenading peaceably along. In this charge, an old man is wounded by a stroke of a sabre; the people defend themselves with the seats, they mount upon the terraces; the indignation becomes general, and the call to arms resounds through every quarter, in the Tuileries, in the Palais-Royal, in the city, and in the faubourgs.

The regiment of the French guards was, as we have already seen, well-disposed towards the people; they had confined it in its barracks. The prince of Lambesc, fearing, nevertheless, that it might take a part, gave orders to sixty dragoons to go and place themselves in front of its depôt, situated in the Chaussée-D'Antin. The soldiers of the guards, already discontented at being retained prisoners, became indignant at the sight of those strangers, with whom they had had a quarrel a few days before; they wished to run to arms, and their officers, alternately employing menaces and prayers, with great difficulty restrained them. But they would

hear nothing more, when some of them came to announce the charge at the Tuileries, and the death of one of their comrades, they seized their arms, broke the gratings, ranged themselves in line of battle at the entrance of the barracks in front of the dragoons, and gave the word, "*Qui vive?*" "The Royal Germans." "Are ye for the *tiers-état?*" "We are for those who give us orders." The French guards instantly fired upon them, and killed nine of their men, wounded three, and put the rest to flight. They then marched forward in the charging pace with their bayonets in advance to the place Louis XV, placed themselves between the Tuileries and the Champs-Elysées, the people and the troops, and guarded this post all the night. The soldiers of the Champ-de-Mars immediately received orders to advance. When they had arrived in the Champs-Elysées, the French guards received them with musket-shots. Orders were given them to engage, but they refused; the Petits-Suisses were the first to give this example, which the others followed. The officers, in despair, ordered a retreat: the troops retired towards the Grille de Chaillot, whence they presently assembled

in the Champ-de-Mars. The defection of the French guards, and the refusal even of the foreign troops to march upon the capital, secured the failure of the projects of the court.

During this evening, the people went to the Hotel-de-Ville, and demanded that the tocsin should be sounded, the districts assembled, and the citizens armed. Some electors met at the Hotel-de-Ville, and they took the authority into their hands. They rendered, during these days of insurrection, the greatest services to their fellow-citizens, and the cause of liberty, by their courage, prudence, and activity; but in the first confusion of the insurrection they could scarcely obtain a hearing. The tumult was at its height; every man obeyed the dictates of his passion. Among the well intentioned citizens, were also suspicious characters, who sought in insurrection only the means of disorder and pillage. Troops of labourers, employed by the government in the public works, the most part without a home, without a character, burnt down the barriers, infested the streets, plundered several houses; these were the men who were called *brigands*. The nights

the 12th and 13th passed in tumult and alarm.

The departure of Necker, which had created an insurrection in Paris, did not produce a less effect at Versailles, and in the assembly; the surprise and discontent were there the same. The deputies met early in the morning in the hall of the states; they were sullen, but their sadness had more of indignation than dejection. "At the opening of the sitting," said a deputy, "many addresses of adherence to the decrees were listened to in sullen silence by the assembly, less attentive to the reading than to their own thoughts." Mounier first spoke; he denounced the dismissal of ministers dear to the nation, the choice of their successors; he proposed an address to the king to demand their recall, to shew him the danger of violent measures, the misfortunes that might follow the approach of the troops, and to tell him that the assembly was solemnly opposed to an infamous bankruptcy. At these words, the emotion of the assembly, hitherto constrained, burst forth in clapping of hands and shouts of approbation. Lally-Tollendal, the friend of Necker, then advanced with a sorrowful air, demanded a

hearing, and pronounced a long and eloquent panegyric on the exiled minister; he was listened to with the profoundest interest; his grief corresponded with the public sorrow, the cause of Necker was then that of the country. The noblesse itself made common cause with the members of the *tiers-état*, whether it considered the peril as being common, or feared that it should incur the same blame as the court, unless it should disapprove its conduct, or that it was carried along by the general sympathy.

A noble deputy, the count of Virieu, gave the example. "Assembled for the constitution," was his language, "let us make the constitution; let us bind closer our mutual bonds of connexion; let us renew, confirm, consecrate, the glorious resolutions of the 17th June; let us unite ourselves to this celebrated resolution of the 20th of the same month. Let us all swear, yes, all, all the orders united, to be faithful to these illustrious resolutions, which alone can now save the realm." "The constitution shall be made," added the duke de la Rochefoucault, "or we will be no more." But the agreement was still more unanimous when the insurrection at

Paris was announced to the assembly, the excesses which had been the sequel of it, the barriers burnt down, the electors assembled at the Hotel-de-Ville, the confusion in the capital, and the citizens ready to be attacked by the troops, or to slaughter themselves. There was only one cry in the hall; "Let the remembrance of our momentary divisions be effaced; let us unite our efforts for the salvation of the country." They sent immediately a deputation to the king, composed of twenty-four members, among whom were all the deputies of Paris; the archbishop of Vienne, president of the assembly, was at its head. It was to represent to the king the dangers which menaced the capital and the realm, the necessity of sending away the troops; and of confiding the protection of the city to burgess militia; and if they obtained from the king these demands, they were to send a deputation to Paris to announce this consoling intelligence. But this deputation very soon returned with an unsatisfactory answer.

The assembly then saw that it had only itself to depend on, and that the projects of the court were irrevocably fixed. Far from

being discouraged, it became only the more firm, and instantly decreed unanimously the responsibility of the actual ministers, and of all advisers of the king, *of whatever rank or state they might be;* it voted an address of regret to Necker, and the disgraced ministers; it declared that it would not cease to insist on the removal of the troops, and the establishment of the burgess militia; it placed the public debt under the safeguard of French honour, and confirmed all its preceding resolutions. After these measures, it took another not less necessary. Apprehending that in the night the court might close the hall of the states with soldiers, in order to disperse the assembly, it established itself in permanence till a new order should be made: it decided that a part of the deputies should sit during the night, and that another should come to relieve it early in the morning. To lessen the fatigue of a continual presidence to the venerable archbishop of Vienne, they nominated a vice-president, to supply his place at these extraordinary times. The choice fell on Lafayette, who held the sitting during the night. The night passed without deliberation, the deputies being upon their seats, silent, but

calm and serene. It was by these actions, by these public remonstrances, by these resolutions, by this unanimous enthusiasm, by this sustained wisdom, by this unshaken course of conduct, that the assembly rose more and more to the height of its dangers and its mission.

At Paris the insurrection assumed, on the 13th, a more regular character; in the morning the people presented themselves at the Hotel-de-Ville; they sounded the tocsin of the common-house, and that of all the churches; drums were beat along the streets to summon the citizens. They collected in the public places; they formed themselves into troops, under the name of the volunteers of the Palais-Royal, volunteers of the Tuileries, of the Bazoche, of the Arquebuse. The districts reunited themselves; each of them voted two hundred men for their defence. They only wanted arms; they searched every place where they hoped to find any; they seized upon those they found among the gunsmiths and sword-cutlers, giving receipts for them; they went to the Hotel-de-Ville to demand arms there; the electors, always assembled, answered in vain that they had none; they, by some means or other were resolved to have them. The

electors then sent for the head of the city, M. de Flesselles, provost of the merchants, who alone understood the military state of the capital, and whose authority among the people might be of great service in so difficult a conjuncture. He arrived amid the applauses of the multitude. "*My friends,*" said he, "*I am your father, you shall be satisfied.*" A permanent committee formed itself at the Hotel-de-Ville, to take measures touching the common safety.

About the same time it was announced that the house of the Lazarists, which contained a large quantity of grain, had been plundered, that the Garde-Meuble had been forced in order to take from it the ancient armour, that the shops of the gunsmiths had been pillaged. The greatest excesses on the part of the multitude were apprehended; it was let loose, and it appeared difficult to restrain its impetuosity. But this was a moment of enthusiasm and disinterestedness. It even disarmed, itself, men of suspicious character; the corn found at the house of the Lazarists was carried to the market-hall. It robbed no private houses; the carriages, the chariots filled with provisions, moveables, household furniture, stopped at the gate of the city, were conducted

to the Place de Grève, now become a vast magazine; the multitude constantly crowded together, ever repeating their demand for *Arms!* It was almost one o'clock, the provost of the merchants announced the speedy arrival of twelve thousand muskets of the manufacture of Charleville, which would very shortly be followed by thirty thousand more.

This assurance appeased for a time the people, and the committee proceeded with a little more calmness to the organization of the burgess militia. In less than four hours, the plan was digested, discussed, adopted, printed, and posted up. They decided, that till new orders, the Parisian guard should consist of forty-eight thousand men. All the citizens were invited to inscribe their names and become a part of it; each district had its battalion, each battalion its captains; they offered the command of this burgess army to the duke d'Aumont, who demanded twenty-four hours to make his decision. In the meantime the marquis of Salle was nominated second in command. The green cockade was then replaced by the red and blue cockade, which were the colours of the capital. The districts declared their concurrence in the measures

which the permanent committee had taken. The clerks of the Châtelet, those of the Palais, the medical students, the soldiers of the watch, and what was still more important, the French guards, offered their services to the assembly; patrols were formed to scour the streets. But the people were waiting impatiently for the result of the promises of the provost of merchants; the muskets did not arrive, the evening was approaching, and they dreaded in the night an attack of the troops; they believed that they were betrayed, when they learned that five thousand pounds of powder had been secretly removed from Paris, and that the people at the barriers had seized it. By-and-by chests arrived inscribed — *artillery*; this calmed the effervescence; the people escorted them to the Hotel-de-Ville, believing them to contain the expected muskets of Charleville: they opened them and found them filled with old linen and bits of wood. Then the people clamoured at the treachery, and broke forth in murmurs and menaces against the committee and the provost of the merchants. He excused himself by saying that he had been deceived, and in order to gain time, or to disengage himself

from the multitude, he sent them to Chartreux to seek for arms there; but there were none, and they returned more jealous and furious.

The committee saw then that they had no other resources for arming Paris and for divesting the mob of its suspicions, than by having pikes forged; they ordered the immediate fabrication of fifty thousand. To prevent the excesses of the preceding night, the town was illuminated, and patrols scoured it in every direction.

Next day those who had not been able to obtain arms came to demand them again from the committee very early in the morning, reproaching it with its refusal and evasions on the preceding evening. The committee had in vain sought for arms; none had come from Charleville, none had been found at Chartreux, even the arsenal was empty. The people, who would no longer receive any excuse, which believed itself more and more betrayed, went in a body to the Hotel of the Invalids, which contained a considerable depôt of arms. It manifested no fear of the troops established in the Champ-de-Mars, penetrated into the hotel in spite of the re-

monstrance of the governor M. de Sombreuil, found twenty-eight thousand muskets concealed in the cellars, seized them, took the sabres, the spears, the cannon, and carried off the whole in triumph. The cannon was posted at the entrance to the faubourgs, at the castle of the Tuileries, upon the quays, upon the bridges, for the defence of the capital against the invasion of the troops, which they were expecting every moment.

During this morning the alarm was given, that the regiments posted at St. Dennis were on their march, and that the cannon of the Bastille was pointed upon the street St. Antoine. The committee took measures immediately on this discovery, placed citizens to defend this side of the town, and sent a deputation to the governor of the Bastille to engage him to withdraw his cannon, and not to commit any act of hostility. This activity, the apprehension which the fortress inspired, hatred of the abuses it protected, the necessity of occupying a point so important, and of no longer leaving it to their enemies in a moment of insurrection, directed the attention of the multitude to this point. From nine in the morning to two in the afternoon,

there had been only one cry from one end of Paris to the other, *To the Bastille! To the Bastille!* The citizens assembled there from all parts of the town in groups, armed with muskets, pikes, sabres; the crowd which already surrounded it was considerable; the sentinels of the place were posted, and the bridges raised as in a period of war.

A deputy from the district of St. Louis-de-la-Culture, called Thuriot de la Rosiere, demanded an interview with the governor, M. Delaunay. Admitted into his presence, he summoned him to change the direction of the cannon. The governor answered that the pieces were at all times placed on the towers; that he had it not in his power to get them down; and that, finally, informed of the disturbed condition of Paris, he had made them retire some paces and to point from the embrasures. Thuriot with difficulty succeeded in penetrating farther, and examining if the state of the fortress was as satisfactory for the town as the governor affirmed. He found as he advanced, three pieces of cannon directed upon the avenues of the place, and ready to play on those who should attempt to force it. About forty Swiss and twenty-four invalids

were under arms. Thuriot urged them as well as the état-major of the place, in the name of honour and of the country, nor to shew themselves enemies of the people. The officers and the soldiers all swore not to use their arms unless they were attacked. Thuriot then ascended the towers, and from thence beheld an immense multitude approaching from all parts, and the faubourg St. Antoine advancing *en masse*. Already from without they were alarmed that Thuriot did not return, and they demanded him with loud cries. To re-assure the people, he shewed himself on the platform of the fortress, and shouts of applause rang from the garden of the Arsenal. He descended, rejoined his friends, made known the result of his mission, and then presented himself before the committee.

But the multitude impatiently demanded the surrender of the fortress. From time to time these words rose from the multitude: *We want the Bastille! We must have the Bastille!* Two men suddenly sprang from the crowd, rushed upon a sentinel, and struck the chains of the great bridge with a hatchet. The soldiers called out to them to retire,

and threatened to fire. But they continued their blows, broke the chains, let down the bridge, and threw themselves forward with the multitude. They advanced toward the second bridge in order to batter it down also. The garrison made a discharge of musketry and dispersed them. Nevertheless, they returned to the attack, and during several hours all their efforts were directed against the second bridge, the approach to which was defended by a constant fire from the place. The people, furious at this obstinate resistance, tried to break the gates with blows of the hatchet, and to set fire to the guard-house. The garrison then made a discharge of case-shot, murderous to the besiegers, and which killed or wounded a great many; this only infuriated them; they had, at their head, men who, like Elie and Hulin, possessed extraordinary courage and audacity, and they continued the siege with impetuosity.

The committee of the Hotel-de-Ville was in the greatest anxiety. The siege of the Bastille appeared to it a rash enterprise. It received from time to time news of the disasters which were happening at the foot of the fortress. It was placed between the dan-

ger from the troops if they were victorious, and that of the multitude, which was demanding from it ammunition to carry on the siege. As they could not give what they did not possess, they were accused of treachery; they had sent two deputations to procure the suspension of hostilities, and invite the governor to confide the keeping of the place to the citizens; but in the midst of tumults, of shouts, of the discharge of musketry, they could not make themselves heard; they sent a third with a drum and a flag of truce, for the purpose of being more easily recognized, but they were not more successful. Neither side would hear anything. Despite its endeavours and its activity, the assembly of the Hotel-de-Ville was still exposed to the suspicions of its party. The provost of the merchants especially excited the greatest distrust. "He has already," said one, "made many shifts in this business." "He advises us," said another, "to open a trench, that he may gain time, and we may lose everything."— "Comrades," exclaimed an old man, "what have we to do with these traitors? March, follow me, and in less than two hours the Bastille shall be taken."

The siege had continued more than four hours, when the French guards arrived with cannon. Their arrival changed the face of the combat. The garrison urged the governor to surrender. The unfortunate Delaunay, fearing the lot which awaited him, would now have blown up the fortress, and buried himself under its ruins, and those of the faubourg. He advanced in desperation, with a lighted match in his hand, towards the powder. The garrison itself seized him, hoisted a white flag upon the platform, reversed their muskets, and lowered their cannon in token of peace. But the assailants, fighting and advancing on, continued to exclaim, "*Let down the bridges!*" A Swiss officer demanded, across the battlements, leave to capitulate, and march out with the honours of war. "No, no!" cried the multitude. The same officer made a proposal to lay down their arms, if the besiegers would promise to spare their lives. "Let down the bridge," answered the foremost of the assailants, "no harm will befal you." On this assurance, they opened the gate, let down the bridge, and the besiegers threw themselves into the Bastille. Those who were at the head of the multitude wished

to save from its vengeance the governor, the Swiss, and the invalids; but the cry was: "*Give them up to us, give them up to us! They have fired on their fellow-citizens, and they deserve to be hanged!*" The governor, some Swiss, and some of the invalids, were torn from the protection of their defenders, and put to death by the implacable mob.

The permanent committee was ignorant of the result of the combat. The hall of its sittings was encumbered by a furious multitude, which menaced the provost of the merchants and the electors. Flesselles began to be uneasy in his situation. He was pale, anxious; exposed to reproaches and the most furious menaces; they had forced him from the hall of the committee to the hall of the general assembly, where an immense number of citizens had assembled. "Let him come, let him follow us," had been called out from all parts. "This is too much," said Flesselles, "let us march since they wish it; let us go where I am expected." But he had scarcely arrived in the great hall, when the attention of the multitude was arrested by cries of "*Victory! Victory! Liberty!*" These were the conquerors of the Bastille, whose

arrival was thus announced. Presently they themselves entered the hall, presenting a spectacle the most popular and the most imposing. The most distinguished among them were carried in triumph, and crowned with laurels. They were escorted by more than fifteen hundred men, their eyes gleaming, their hair in disorder, bearing all kinds of arms, crowding one upon another, and making the boards resound with the stamping of their feet. One carried the keys of the Bastille, and the flag; another the "orders," suspended from the bayonet at the end of a musket; and a third held up in his bloody hand the collar of the governor. It was in this form that the train of the conquerors of the Bastille, followed by an immense multitude which inundated the *Place* and the quays, entered the hall of the Hotel-de-Ville, to inform the committee of their triumph, and to decide on the fate of the prisoners who remained. Some individuals wished to leave the decision to the committee, but others cried out, "no quarter to the prisoners! no quarter to men who have fired on their fellow-citizens." The commandant La Salle, the elector Moreau de St. Méry, the

courageous Elie, succeeded however in appeasing the wrath of the multitude, and in obtaining a general amnesty.

But then came the turn of the unfortunate Flesselles: they pretended that a letter, found upon Delaunay, proved his treason, which they had already suspected. "I amuse," said he to him, "the Parisians, with cockades and promises: hold out till this night: you shall have relief." The people crowded round the board. The more moderate demanded that his person should be seized, and that he should be committed to the prisons of the Châtelet; but others opposed this proposal, contending that he ought to be sent to the Palais-Royal, to be judged there. This last was the general wish. "*To the Palais-Royal! To the Palais-Royal!*" re-echoed from every part of the crowd. "Ah, well! be it so, gentlemen," answered Flesselles, with the most tranquil air; "let us go to the Palais-Royal." At these words, he descended from the raised part of the hall, sprang into the midst of the mob, which opened as he marched forward, and which followed without doing him any violence.

But at the corner of the quay Pelletier, a stranger advanced towards him, and shot him dead with his pistol.

After these scenes of arming, of tumult, of battle, of vengeance, the Parisians, who apprehended an attack during the night, as the intercepted letters indicated, made due disposition for receiving the enemy. The entire population laboured in fortifying the town. They formed barricadoes, they threw up entrenchments, broke up the pavement, forged pikes, cast bullets. The women carried stones to the tops of the houses to crush the soldiers. The national guard distributed themselves at the different posts. Paris resembled an immense workshop, and a vast camp, and the whole of the night was passed under arms, and in momentary expectation of battle.

While the insurrection of Paris was assuming this character of fury, of permanence, of success, what were they doing at Versailles? The court was preparing to realize its designs against the capital and the assembly. The night of the 14th to the 15th, was fixed for the execution of its plan. Bréteuil, the prime-minister, had promised to re-

store the royal authority in three days. The commandant of the army assembled at Paris, the marshal de Broglie, had received unlimited powers of every species. On the 15th, the declaration of the 23rd June was to be renewed, and the assembly, after having been compelled to accept it, was to be dissolved. Forty thousand copies of this declaration were ready for distribution through the kingdom; and in order to subserve the urgent necessities of the treasury, they had manufactured more than a hundred millions of government notes. The movement of Paris, far from disturbing the court, favoured its views. To the very last moment, it considered this as a transient disturbance which would be easily repressed; it did not believe either in its perseverance or in its success, and it did not appear possible that a mob of citizens would be able to resist an army.

The assembly knew all these projects. For two days it sat without interruption in the midst of disquietude and alarms. It was in a great measure ignorant of what was passing at Paris. At length intelligence arrived that the insurrection had become general, and that Paris was marching upon Versailles, whilst

the troops were putting themselves in motion against the capital. They imagined that they heard the cannon, and listened to assure themselves. On the fourteenth, in the evening, they believed that the king was to depart during the night, and that the assembly was abandoned to the mercy of the foreign regiments. This last apprehension was not without foundation; a carriage was constantly in attendance, and for many successive days the body-guards did not put off their clothes. Moreover, at the Orangery, the most alarming scenes were passing. The foreign troops were prepared, by the distribution of wine and presents, for their expedition, and every thing induced the belief that the decisive moment had come.

In spite of the approach and the increase of the danger, the assembly shewed itself immovable, and pursued its first resolutions. Mirabeau, who had first demanded the dismissal of the troops, moved a new deputation. It was on the point of departure, when a deputy, the viscount Noailles, arriving from Paris, made known to the assembly the progress of the insurrection, announced the pillage of the Invalides, the arming of the

multitude, and the siege of the Bastille. Another deputy, Wimpfen, came to add to the recital, that of the personal dangers he had incurred, and declared that the fury of the people augmented with its dangers. The assembly proposed to establish couriers in order that they might get intelligence from Paris every two hours.

In the meantime, two electors, MM. Ganilh, and Bancal-des-Issarts, sent by the committee of the Hotel-de-Ville in deputation to the assembly, confirmed everything which it had learnt. They began by stating the measures which the electors had taken for the good order and defence of the capital; they announced the misfortunes which had happened at the foot of the Bastille, the uselessness of the deputations to the governor, and said, that the fire of the garrison had scattered death about the environs of the fortress. At this recital, a cry of indignation rose from the midst of the assembly, and a second deputation was immediately sent to carry to the king this grievous intelligence. The first returned with a very unsatisfactory answer at six o'clock in the evening. The king, on learning these disastrous events,

which presaged others still more so, appeared to be greatly affected. He had struggled against the part he had been compelled to take. "You tear my heart more and more," said he to the deputies, "by the recital you make of the misfortunes of Paris. It is not possible to believe that the orders which have been given to the troops are the occasion of them. You know the answer I have given to your preceding deputation; I have nothing to add to it." This answer consisted in the promise of sending from Paris the troops of the Champ-de-Mars, and in the orders given to the general officers to put themselves at the head of the burgess-guard in order to direct it. Such measures were insufficient to remedy the dangerous situation in which it was placed, and hence the assembly was neither satisfied nor re-assured.

A short time after, the deputies D'Ormesson and Duport came to announce to the assembly the capture of the Bastille, the death of Flesselles, and that of Delaunay. A third deputation to the king was proposed, to demand again the removal of the troops. "No," said Clermont Tonnerre; "leave them the night

for consultation; kings, as well as other men, must purchase experience." It was in this state that the assembly passed the night. In the morning, a new deputation was nominated to shew the monarch the calamities which would ensue from a longer refusal. It was then that Mirabeau, arresting the deputies as they were departing,—"Tell him boldly, tell him," he exclaimed, "that the hordes of foreigners by whom we are surrounded have received yesterday the visit of princes, of princesses, of favourites, of court ladies, and their caresses, and their exhortations, and their presents; tell him, that these foreign satellites, gorged with money and wine, have predicted, in their impious revelry, the enslavement of France, and that their brutal wishes invoke the destruction of the national assembly; tell him, that in the palace itself the courtiers have danced to the sound of this barbarous music, and that such orgies were the harbingers of St. Bartholomew! tell him, that the Henry, whose blessings are proclaimed by the universe, he of his ancestors whom he should take for a model, brought food into rebel Paris, which he besieged in

person; but that his ferocious councillors sent back the corn which commerce had brought into his faithful but famished capital."

But at this instant the king appeared in the midst of the assembly. The duke of Liancourt, availing himself of that access to the sovereign which his office of grand master of the wardrobe gave him, apprised him during the night of the defection of the French guards, and of the attack and capture of the Bastille. At this news, of which his councillors had left him in ignorance, "*It is a revolt!*" exclaimed the astonished monarch. "No, sir, *it is a revolution.*" This excellent citizen had represented to him the perils to which he was exposed by the projects of the court, the fears, the exasperation of the people, the bad disposition of the troops; and the king had determined to present himself to the assembly, to reassure it of his intentions. This news inspired, in the first instance, transports of joy. But Mirabeau represented to his colleagues the folly of their abandoning themselves to such premature expressions of applause. "Let us wait," said he, "till his majesty make known to us the good disposition which is announced on his part. The

blood of our brethren flows at Paris. Let a mournful respect be the first reception of the monarch of an unhappy people; the silence of the people is the lesson of kings." The assembly resumed the sullen attitude, which, for three days, it had never abandoned. The king appeared without guards, and without any other retinue than that of his brothers. He was received with the profoundest silence; but when he had declared that he was one with the nation, and that, relying upon the affection and fidelity of his subjects, he had given orders for the troops to retire from Paris and Versailles,—when he had pronounced these touching words, "Well, then, it is to you that I confide myself," plaudits were heard from every quarter; the members of the assembly rose spontaneously, and reconducted the monarch to the château.

Versailles and Paris rang with joy. The sentiment of security succeeded the agitation of fear, and the people passed from animosity to gratitude. Louis XVI, restored to himself, felt how important it was to go in person to the capital, in order to reconquer its affection, and conciliate for himself the popular power. He caused it to be announced to the assembly,

that he would recall Necker, and make his appearance on the following day at Paris. The assembly had already nominated a deputation of a hundred members to go before the king into the capital. It was received with enthusiasm. Bailly and La Fayette, who made a part of it, were nominated—the first, mayor of Paris, the other, commander of the burgess-guard. They deserved these popular acknowledgments, the one by his long and difficult presidency of the assembly, the other by his glorious conduct in the two worlds. This last, the friend of Washington, and one of the principal authors of American independence, on his return to his country, had first pronounced the name of the states-general, had united himself to the assembly with the minority of the noblesse, and had shewn himself subsequently one of the most zealous partisans of the revolution.

The two new magistrates proceeded, on the 17th, to receive the king at the head of the municipality and the Parisian guard. "Sire," said Bailly to him, "I bring to your majesty the keys of your good city of Paris; they are the same as those presented to Henry IV; he had reconquered his people, here the people

have reconquered their king." From the place Louis XV to the Hotel-de-Ville, the king traversed the passage formed by the national guard, arranged in three or four lines, armed with muskets, pikes, lances, scythes, and staves. Their visages still wore a sombre aspect, and the cry, frequently repeated, of *Vive la nation!* was the only one heard. But when Louis XVI descended from the carriage; when he had received from the hands of Bailly the tri-coloured cockade, and that without guards, surrounded by the multitude; when he had entered without distrust the Hotel-de-Ville, applauses and cries of *Vive le roi!* burst from all parts. The reconciliation was entire; Louis XVI received the greatest testimonies of affection. After having sanctioned the new magistracies, and after having approved the choice of the people, he set out again for Versailles, his return to which was not regarded without inquietude, in consequence of the preceding disturbances. The assembly awaited him in the avenue of Paris, and accompanied him to the château, where the queen, with her children, came to throw themselves into his arms.

The counter-revolutionary ministers, and all the authors of the designs which had failed,

quitted the court. The count of Artois, the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, the family of Polignac, took their departure from France, and began the first emigration. Necker returned in triumph; this moment was the finest of his life, and few men have enjoyed such. Minister of the nation, disgraced for it, recalled by it, he was met everywhere on his route from Bâle to Paris with marks of the gratitude and intoxicating joy of the people. His entry into Paris was a day of festival. But this day, which was the crown of his popularity, was also the termination of it. The multitude, always agitated and always furious against those who had had a hand in the projects of the 14th July, had destroyed with implacable fury, Foulon, the intended minister, and his nephew Berthier. Indignant at these executions, fearing that others might become victims, wishing in particular to save the baron of Basenval, commander of the army of Paris under the marshal de Broglie, and who was detained prisoner, Necker demanded a general amnesty, and obtained it from the assembly of electors. This measure was imprudent at this moment of jealousy and exultation. Necker did not

know the people; he did not know with what facility they suspect their leaders, and crush their idols. They feared that he was wishing to withdraw their enemies from the penalties they had incurred; the districts assembled themselves, the illegality of the amnesty, pronounced by an assembly without authority, was violently attacked, and the electors themselves revoked it. It was doubtless desirable to counsel the people to calmness, and recall them to mercy; but the best means was to demand, instead of a release of the accused, a tribunal which would remove them from the murderous jurisdiction of the mob. There are cases in which the greatest humanity is not that which appears to be so. Necker, without obtaining anything, let loose the people against himself, and the districts against the electors; from henceforward he began to struggle with the revolution, of which he hoped to make himself the master, because he had been, for an instant, its hero. But he very quickly undeceived himself. A man is a thing of very little moment in a revolution, which removes masses; the movement hurries him along, or abandons him; he must either advance before it, or be crushed by its pres-

sure. In no times is the subordination of men to things more clearly perceived: revolutions employ many leaders, they surrender only to one.

The consequences of the 14th July were immense. The movement of Paris communicated itself to the provinces: the lower classes especially, in imitation of those of the capital, organised themselves into municipalities for their government, and into national guards for their defence. Authority, as well as force, were entirely displaced; the royal power had lost them by its defeat, and the nation had acquired them; the new magistrates were alone powerful, and alone obeyed; the old ones having become the objects of jealousy. In the towns, the people were arrayed against these last, and against the privileged, whom they supposed, not without reason, to be the enemies of the change which they were wishing to operate. In the country, they set fire to the castles, and the peasants burnt the titles of their lords. It is very difficult in a moment of victory not to abuse our power. But it was important, in order to appease the people, to reform abuses; so that, in wishing to retain them, they might not confound pro-

perty with privilege: orders had disappeared, arbitrary power was destroyed, and their ancient accompaniment, inequality, remained also to be suppressed. This was the way in which it was necessary to proceed to the establishment of the new order of things; these preliminaries were the work of a single night.

The assembly had addressed to the people proclamations which might restore tranquillity. The erection of the Châtelet into a tribunal charged with the trial of the conspirators of the 14th July, by satisfying the multitude, had contributed to the restoration of order. It remained to enact a measure still more important, the abolition of privileges. On the night of the 4th August, the duke of Noailles gave the signal for it; he proposed the redemption of the feudal rights, and the suppression of the personal servitudes. This motion began the sacrifices of all the privileged, it set up among them a rivalry of voluntary surrenders and patriotism. The contagion became general; in a few hours they decreed the cessation of all the abuses. The duke du Châtelet proposed the redemption of all the tithes, and their change into a pecuniary tax; the bishop of Chartres, the suppression of

the exclusive right of the chase; the count of Virieu, that of pigeon-houses and dove-cotes; and, in succession, the abolition of seignorial jurisdictions; the venality of the office of the magistracy; of pecuniary immunities, and of the inequality of imposts; of the perquisites of the curés; of the annats of the court of Rome; of the plurality of benefices; of pensions obtained without titles, were proposed and admitted. After the sacrifices of private persons, came those of corporate bodies, of towns, of provinces; the wardenships and freedom of companies were abolished. A deputy of Dauphiny, the marquis of Blacons, pronounced, in his own name, a solemn renunciation of its privileges. The other provinces imitated Dauphiny; and the towns followed the example of the provinces. A medal was struck to preserve the memory of this day, and the assembly decreed to Louis XVI the title of *Restorer of French liberty*.

This night, which an enemy of the revolution called at the time the St. Bartholomew of property, was only the St. Bartholomew of abuses. It cleared away the rubbish of feudality; it delivered the person from the remnants of servitude; lands from seignorial

dependance; soccage properties from the ravages of game, and the exaction of tithes. In destroying seignorial jurisdictions, the remnants of private power, it conducted to the régime of public power; in destroying the venality of magistratic offices, it presaged gratuitous justice. It was the transition from a condition in which everything belonged to individuals, to another, in which everything ought to belong to the state. This night changed the aspect of the realm; it rendered all Frenchmen equal; it opened the way for all to arrive at employment; to aspire after property; to exercise industry; finally, this night was a revolution as important as the insurrection of the 14th July, of which it was the consequence. It gave the people the control of society, as the other had given it that of the government; and permitted it to prepare the new constitution by destroying the old one.

The march of the revolution had been very rapid, and in a very short time had produced mo st important results. Had it not been opposed, it would have been less prompt and less complete. Each refusal became the occasion of new successes: it overthrew

intrigue, resisted authority, triumphed over force, and, at the moment at which we have arrived, the whole edifice of absolute monarchy had been shaken by the mismanagement of its supporters. The 17th June had annihilated the three orders, and changed the states-general into the assembly of the nation; the 23d June had been the termination of the moral influence of the crown—the 14th July, that of its material power; the assembly had inherited the one, and the people the other; finally, the 4th August was the completion of this first revolution. The epoch which we have described is conspicuously detached from the others: within its short period, the seat of power was displaced, and all the preliminary changes were effected. The epoch which follows is that in which the new régime is discussed and established, and in which the assembly, after having been destructive, becomes constituent.

CHAPTER II.

State of the constituent assembly.—Party of the high clergy and the noblesse; Maury and Cazalès.—Party of the minister and of the two chambers; Mounier, Lally-Tollendal.—The popular party; the triumvirate of Barnave, Duport, and Lameth, its position; influence of Sièyes; Mirabeau, leader of the assembly at this epoch—The party of Orléans.—Constitutional labours; declaration of rights; permanence and unity of the legislative body; royal sanction, the external agitation which it produces.—Project of the court, banquet of the garde-du-corps.—Insurrection of the 5th and 6th October.—The king comes to live in Paris.

The national assembly, composed of the *élite* of the nation, was full of intelligence, of honest purposes and views for the public welfare; it was not, however, quite free from parties and disagreements: but the mass was under the dominion neither of private interests, nor particular individuals; and it was this, that, upon a conviction always unshackled, frequently spontaneous, settled deliberations and secured its popularity. Let us see what were the divisions of views and interests that prevailed among them.

The court had in the assembly a party, that of the privileged, which for some time maintained silence, and took only a retarding part in the discussions. This party was composed of those who, at the dispute of the orders, declared against the re-union. In spite of their momentary agreements with the commons in the late circumstances, the aristocratic classes had interests contrary to those of the national party. Thus the noblesse and the high clergy were in constant opposition with it, except on certain days, when personal feelings were silenced in the general enthusiasm. These non-contents of the revolution, who could neither prevent it by their sacrifices, nor arrest it by their adherence, systematically resisted all its reforms. Their principal organs were two men, no way distinguished by their birth or dignities, but who had the superiority of talent. Maury and Cazalès might be said to represent the clergy and the noblesse.

These two orators of the privileged, according to the intentions of their party, which did not believe in the permanence of the changes, sought less to defend themselves than to protest; and, in all their discussions,

their object was not to instruct, but to embarrass the assembly. Each of them, in the part he acted, manifested the peculiarities of his genius and character. Maury made long harangues; Cazalès vivid sallies. The former preserved in the tribune the habits of the preacher and academician; he discoursed on legislative matters without comprehending them, never seizing on the true point of a question, nor even the most advantageous for his party; displaying audacity, erudition, address, a brilliant and sustained facility, but never a profound conviction, a settled judgment, a genuine eloquence. The abbé Maury spoke as soldiers fight: no one knew how to contradict more frequently, or more preseveringly than he did; no one could better supply the place of good reasons by citations and sophisms, and of the excursions of genius by the forms of oratory. He had no lack of talent; but he wanted truth, its vivifying principle. Cazalès was in all respects the very opposite of Maury: his genius was prompt and unerring; his elocution was as easy, but more animated; there was a frankness in all his movements; his reasons were always the best. No rhetorician, he took on ques-

tions which interested his party the ground of justice, and left to Maury the topics of declamation. With the exactness of his views, the ardour of his character, and the good use of his talents, he had only the faults which were incident to his position. Maury, to the errors of his genius, added those which were inseparable from his cause.

Necker and the ministry had also a party, but it was less numerous than the other, because it was a moderate party. France was then divided into the privileged, who opposed the revolution, and the men of the people, who wished to have it entire. There was no place between them for a mediating party. Necker had declared for the English constitution, and all those who shared his views, whether from conviction or ambition, rallied round him. Of this number, were Mounier, a man of strong judgment and inflexible character, who considered this system as the type of representative governments; Lally-Tollendal, as fully convinced as he, and more persuasive; Clermont-Tonnerre, the friend and associate of Mounier and Lally, who participated in the qualities and views of them both; finally, the minority of the no-

blesse, and a party of the bishops, who hoped to become members of the upper chamber, if the ideas of Necker should be adopted.

The leaders of this party, who were subsequently called the *monarchists*, wished to effect the revolution by accommodation: at each epoch, they endeavoured to prevail on the more powerful to act with the weaker. Previous to the 14th July, they demanded of the court and the privileged classes to satisfy the wants of the commons; after this epoch, they demanded of the commons to come to an accommodation with the court and the privileged. They thought that it was necessary to preserve to each party its action in the state, that parties displaced are parties discontended, and that we must create for them a legal existence, under pain of being exposed to interminable struggles from them. But that which they did not see, was the inapposiiteness of their ideas in a moment of exclusive passion. The struggle was commenced, the struggle which was to lead to the triumph of a system, and not to an arrangement. It was a victory which had replaced the three orders by a single assembly, and it was very difficult to break the unity of this assembly,

in order to arrive at the government of two chambers. The moderate party had not been able to obtain this government from the court; there was no more reason why they should obtain it from the people: to the one it had appeared too popular, for the other it was too aristocratic.

The rest of the assembly consisted of the national party. The men who at a subsequent period wished to commence a second revolution when the first had been achieved, as Robespierre, Pétion, Buzot, &c., were as yet unknown. At this epoch the extremes on this side were Duport, Barnave, and Lameth, who formed a triumvirate, whose opinions were prepared by Duport, supported by Barnave, and whose measures were directed by Alex. Lameth. There was something very remarkable, and which proclaimed the spirit of equality of the epoch, in the intimate union of an advocate belonging to the middle class, of a counsellor belonging to the parliamentary class, and of a colonel belonging to the court, who renounced the interests of their order, to associate in views of public good and of popularity. This party placed itself at once in a position a little in advance

of that at which the revolution had arrived. The 14th July had been the triumph of the middle class; the constituent was its assembly; the national guard its armed force; the mayoralty its popular power. Mirabeau, La Fayette, Bailly, applied themselves to this class, and were, the one its orator, the other its general, and the third its magistrate. The party Duport, Barnave, and Lameth, possessed the principles, and sustained the interests of this epoch of the revolution: being composed of young men of ardent patriotism, who came upon the theatre of public affairs with superior qualities, fine talents, and high rank, and who, to the ambition of liberty, added that of occupying the first rank, this party placed itself at first a little in advance of the revolution of the 14th July. It took its *point d'appui* in the assembly among the members of the extreme left; out of the assembly, among the clubs; in the nation, among the party of the people who had co-operated at the 14th July, and who did not wish that the *bourgeoisie* alone should profit by the victory. In putting itself at the head of those who had no leaders, and who, being a little out of the government, were aspiring to enter it, it did

not cease to belong to this first epoch of the revolution. It formed a species of democratic opposition in the middle class itself, differing from its leaders only upon points of little importance, and voting with them on almost every question. There was among these popular men an emulation of patriotism, rather than a difference of party.

Duport, who had a strong head, and who acquired a premature experience of the conduct of the political passions in the struggles which the parliament had sustained against the ministry, and which he had in a great measure directed, knew that a people reposes when it has conquered its rights, and that its passions subside only when it is at rest. In order to hold the rein over those who governed in the assembly, the mayoralty, the militias; in order to prevent the public activity from slackening, and the people, of whom there might one day be need, from being disbanded, he conceived and executed the famous confederation of clubs. This institution, like everything which impresses a great movement on a nation, did much evil and much good. It encumbered the legal authority when it was sufficient, but it also

gave an immense energy to the revolution. When attacked on all sides, it could save itself only at the expense of the most violent efforts. In a word, the founders had not calculated all the consequences of this association. It was, in their estimation, simply a piece of machinery which was to sustain or to wind up without danger the motion of the public machine, when it tended to slacken or to cease. They did not believe that they were labouring for the party of the multitude. After the flight of Varennes, they abandoned it, and exerted themselves against it, through the assistance of the assembly and the middle class, which the death of Mirabeau had left without a leader. At this epoch it was necessary promptly to fix the constitutional revolution, for to prolong it had only been to conduct to the republican revolution.

The mass of the assembly consisted of men of correct, well-trained, and even superior minds; its leaders were two men, strangers to the *tiers-état*, and adopted by it. Without the abbé Sièyes, the operations of the constituent assembly had been less concentrated; without Mirabeau, its conduct had been less energetic.

Sièyes was one of those men who, in ages of enthusiasm, found a sect, and in an age of intelligence, exercise the ascendant of a powerful understanding. Solitude and philosophic speculation had ripened it for a happy moment; his ideas were new, vigorous, various, but little systematic. Society had in particular been the object of his examination; he had followed its progress, and decomposed its machinery. The nature of government appeared to him less a question of right than a question of epoch. Although cool and deliberate, Sièyes had the ardour which inspires the investigation of truth, and the passion which gives its discovery; thus he was absolute in his notions, despising the ideas of others because he found them incomplete, and only in his eyes the half-truth, which was error. Contradiction irritated him; he would have wished to make himself known entirely, and he could not with all the world. His disciples transmitted his systems to others, a circumstance which gave him a certain air of mysteriousness, and rendered him the object of a sort of adoration. He had the authority which complete political science bestows, and the constitution could have

sprung from his head, all armed like the Minerva of Jupiter, or the legislation of the ancients, if in our times every one had not wished to assist in it, or to judge of it. Nevertheless, with some modification, his plans were generally adopted, and he had in the committees far more disciples than fellow-labourers.

Mirabeau had the same ascendant in the tribune which Sièyes had in the committee; he was a man who wanted only an occasion to be great. At Rome, in the prosperous days of the republic, he would have been a Gracchus, in its decline a Catiline; under the Fronde, a cardinal de Retz; and in the decrepitude of a monarchy, or in a state of things in which he could only exercise his immense faculties in turbulence, he would have distinguished, by the vehemence of his passions, and his acts of authority, a life passed in committing disorders, and in suffering them. For this ceaseless activity he wanted employment, and the revolution gave it. Accustomed to the struggle against despotism, irritated by the scorn of a noblesse, which did not value him and which rejected him from its bosom; sagacious, bold, elo-

quent, Mirabeau felt that the revolution would be his work and his life. He was adapted for the wants of his age. His thoughts, his voice, his action, were those of an orator; in perilous circumstances he was capable of controlling the motions of an assembly; in difficult discussions, he had the tact to terminate them; in a word, he had the power to keep down ambition, to silence hostility, to disconcert rivalry. This powerful man, in the midst of agitations, abandoning himself at one time with perfect ease to the impetuosity, at another to the playfulness of strength, exercised over the assembly a sovereign sway. He soon obtained an immense popularity, which he never lost; and he who shunned all regards at his entrance into the states, at his death was carried to the Pantheon, in the midst of mourning of the assembly and of France. Without the revolution, Mirabeau had failed in his destiny; for it is not sufficient to be a great man, it is necessary that he should come at the proper season.

The duke of Orleans, to whom a party has been assigned, had very little influence in the assembly: he voted with the majority, and not the majority with him. The personal attachment of some of its members, his name,

the fears of the court, the popularity which his opinions gained him, hopes rather than conspiracies, have magnified his revolutionary reputation. He had neither the endowments nor the faults of a conspirator; he may have aided, by his money and his name, some popular movements which would have taken place without him, and which had other objects than his elevation. An error still common is, to ascribe this, the greatest of revolutions, to some secret and petty manœuvres; as if, at such an epoch, the whole people could serve as the instrument of one man!

The assembly had acquired the whole power, the municipalities supported its authority, the national guard obeyed it. It was divided into committees, in order to facilitate its labours, and to be sufficient for them. The royal power, though existing by right, was in some sort suspended, since it was not obeyed, and the assembly had the duty of supplying the royal functions by the exercise of its own. Thus, independently of the committees charged with the preparation of its labours, it had others also nominated to exercise a useful surveillance without. A committee of subsistence was occupied on the

supply of provisions, an object so important in a year of famine; a committee of relations corresponded with the municipalities and the provinces; a committee of investigation received the depositions against the conspirators of the 14th July. But the special subjects of its attention were the finances and the constitution, subjects which the recent crisis had compelled them to adjourn.

Having provided for the temporary supply of the treasury, the assembly, although become sovereign, consulted by an examination of the reports, the wish of its committees. It then proceeded in its regulations with a method, an extent and a freedom of discussion, which should have procured for France a constitution conformable to justice and its wants. America, at the moment of its independence, had consecrated, in a declaration, the rights of man, and those of the citizen. It is always thus that we commence. A people springing from slavery feels the necessity of proclaiming its rights, before even laying the foundation of its government. Those Frenchmen who had assisted in this revolution, and who co-operated in our own, proposed a similar declaration as a preamble

of our laws. This idea was pleasing to an assembly of legislators and philosophers, which was not controlled by any limit, since there existed no institutions, and which proceeded on the primitive and fundamental ideas of society; for it was the offspring of the eighteenth century. Although this declaration contained only general principles, and confined itself to the exposition in maxims of what the constitution ought to enact into laws, it was very proper to exalt the views and infuse a sentiment of dignity and importance into the minds of the citizens. Upon the proposition of La Fayette, the assembly had already commenced this discussion, when the events of Paris, and the decrees of the 4th August, had compelled it to interrupt it; the assembly afterwards renewed and terminated it, in consecrating the principles which served as a table of the new law, and which was the taking possession of the right in the name of humanity.

These general grounds being laid, the assembly occupied itself in the organization of the legislative power. This object was one of the most important; it had to fix the nature of its functions, and to establish its

relations with the king. In this discussion, the assembly had simply to determine the future condition of the legislative power. As to itself, invested with the constituent authority, it was placed above its own decrees, and no intermediate power could suspend or hinder its mission. But what should be the form of the deliberating body in future sessions? Should it remain indivisible, or should it be decomposed into two chambers? If this last form should be adopted, what ought to be the nature of the second chamber? Should it be an aristocratic assembly or a moderating senate? In a word, the deliberating assembly, whatever it should be, should it be permanent or periodical, and should the king divide with it the legislative power? Such were the difficulties which agitated the assembly and Paris during the month of September.

We shall easily understand the manner in which these questions were decided, if we consider the position of the assembly, and its ideas respecting the sovereignty. The king was in its eyes only the hereditary agent of the nation, to whom belonged neither the right of canvassing its representatives, nor

that of directing them, nor that of suspending them. Thus it refused him the initiation of laws, and the dissolution of the assembly. It did not think that the legislative body should be dependent on the king; it was moreover apprehensive, that in granting to the government too strong an influence over the assembly, or in case of the latter not keeping itself always united, the prince might avail himself of the intervals when he was alone, to encroach upon the other powers, and perhaps even to destroy the new order of things. They wished therefore to oppose to an authority always active, an assembly always subsisting, and they decreed the permanence of the legislative body. On the question of its indivisibility or its division, the discussions were very animated. Necker, Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, wished, besides a chamber of representatives, to have a senate whose members should be nominated by the king on the presentation of the people. They thought that this was the only means of moderating the power, and even of preventing the tyranny of a single assembly. Their partisans were those members who entertained their ideas, or those who hoped to

make a part of the upper chamber. The majority of the assembly would have wished, not a peerage, but an aristocratic assembly of which it should elect the members. They could not then be heard, Mounier's party refusing to co-operate in a project which would have revived the orders, and the aristocrats rejecting a senate which would have confirmed the ruin of the noblesse. The greater number of the deputies of the clergy and of the commons advocated the unity of the assembly. It appeared illegal to the popular party to constitute legislators for life; they believed that the high chamber would either become the instrument of the court and the aristocracy, and so be dangerous, or that it would unite itself to the commons, and in that case be useless. Thus the nobility from discontent, the national party from the spirit of absolute justice, concurred in rejecting the high chamber.

This determination of the assembly has been severely censured. The partisans of the peerage have ascribed all the evils of the revolution to its absence, as if it were possible that any body, whatever it might be, could have arrested its march. It was not the

constitution which gave it the character it had; this was merely one of the events which sprang from the struggle of parties. What could the upper chamber have done between the court and the nation? Had it declared for the first, it could neither have directed nor have saved it; in favour of the second, it could not have strengthened it; and in either case its suppression had been infallible. We move rapidly in such seasons, and whatever impedes our progress is a nuisance. In England, the House of Lords, although it showed itself sufficiently pliant, was suspended during the crisis. These different systems have each their epoch; revolutions are made by a single chamber, and are terminated by two.

The royal sanction excited very strong debates within the assembly, and very violent agitation without. It was required to determine the share of the monarch in the making of laws. The deputies were almost all agreed upon one point: they were unanimous in granting him the right of sanction or refusal of laws; but one party wished this right to be absolute, the other party that it should be temporary. At bottom, these were the same thing; for it was not possible for the prince

to prolong his refusal indefinitely, and the *veto,* although absolute, would have been only suspensive. But this power, vested in a single man, of thwarting the work of the people, appeared exorbitant out of the assembly, especially where it was least understood.

Paris was not yet recovered from the agitation of the 14th July; it was at the *début* of the popular government, and it experienced both its freedom and its disorders. The assembly of electors, who, during the tumults, had taken the place of the provisional municipality, had just been replaced. A hundred and twenty-four members, nominated by the districts, were constituted legislators and representatives of the *commune.* While they were preparing a plan of municipal organization, everybody wished to command; for in France the love of liberty in some measure the love of power. The committees acted apart from the mayor; the assembly of representatives raised themselves in opposition to the committees, and the districts against the assembly of representatives. Each of the sixty districts took upon itself the legislative power, and gave the executive power to its committees. They considered as subordinate to

them the members of the general assembly, and they took upon themselves the right of quashing their resolutions. This idea of sovereignty of the constituent over his delegate made rapid progress. All those who did not participate in authority united themselves in assemblies, and abandoned themselves to deliberations. The soldiers debated at the Oratoire, the journeymen-tailors at the Colonnade, the barbers at the Champs Elysées, the domestics at the Louvre. But it was at the Palais-Royal in particular, that the most animated discussions took place; they examined the matters which occupied the debates of the national assembly, and controlled its discussions. The famine also occasioned tumults, and these were not among the least dangerous.

Such was the state of Paris, when the discussions upon the *veto* began. The apprehensions excited by granting this right to the king were extreme. They said, that the fate of liberty depended on this decision, and that the *veto* alone would reduce everything to the ancient régime. The multitude, who were ignorant of the nature and the limits of power, wished that the assembly, in which they

trusted, should have all power, and that the king, whom they mistrusted, should have none; every instrument left at the disposition of the court seemed a counter-revolutionary lever. The Palais-Royal was in agitation; menacing letters were written to members of the assembly, who, like Mounier, had declared for the absolute *veto;* it was threatened to abandon them as unfaithful representatives, and to march upon Versailles. The Palais-Royal sent a deputation to the assembly, and demanded from the commune, that the deputies should be declared revocable, and that they should be made at all times dependent on the electors. The commune was firm, resisted the demands of the Palais-Royal, and took measures to prevent the tumults. The national guard, which was very well disposed, seconded these efforts. La Fayette had acquired its confidence; it carried the uniform, and adopted the discipline, of which the French guards had given the example, and it imbibed from its leader a love of order, and respect for the laws. But the middle class, which composed it, had not yet exclusively taken possession of the popular government. The multitude enrolled on the 14th July

were not altogether ejected; the agitation from without made the debates on the *veto* very stormy. A question in itself simple, acquired thus considerable importance, and the minister, seeing how pernicious might be the effect of an absolute decision; feeling, moreover, that, in point of fact, the *veto absolute* and the *veto suspensive* were the same thing, declared the king to be content with the latter, and to desist from the former. The assembly decreed that the refusal of the king's sanction could not be prolonged beyond two legislatures, and this decision satisfied the multitude.

The court availed itself of the agitation of Paris to realize other projects; for some time they had been experimenting on the disposition of the king. He had at first refused to sanction the decrees of the 4th August, although they were constitutional, and that he could from that avoid promulgating them. After having accepted them upon the observation of the assembly, he renewed the same difficulties relative to the declaration of rights. The object of the court was to make Louis XVI appear as oppressed by the assembly, and compelled to submit to measures

he was unwilling to accept; it bore its situation impatiently, and wished to regain its ancient authority. Flight was the only means, and it was necessary to make it legitimate; nothing could be done in the presence of the assembly, and in the vicinity of Paris. The royal authority had fallen on the 23rd June, military display on the 14th July; there remained only civil war. As it was difficult to make the king decide, they waited till the last moment to involve him in flight, and his uncertainty defeated their plan. They were to retire to Metz, near Boillé, to the middle of his army, to call around the monarch the noblesse, the troops that were still faithful, and the parliaments; to declare the assembly and Paris rebellious, to invite them to obedience or to enforce it; and if they could not restore the ancient absolute régime, to confine themselves at least to the declaration of the 20th June. On the other hand, if the court had power to induce the departure of the king from Versailles, the partisans of the revolution had the interest to bring him to Paris; it was as important to these last that he should evade nothing, as it was to the others that he should undertake something; the faction of Orleans, if there existed one, would naturally be de-

sirous to push the king to flight by intimidation, in the expectation that the assembly would nominate its leader lieutenant-general of the realm; finally, the people, wanting bread, would hope that the residence of the king at Paris would remove or diminish the famine. All these causes existing, there wanted only an occasion for insurrection, and the court furnished it. Under the pretext of guarding itself from the movements of Paris, it summoned the troops to Versailles; doubled the gardes-du-corps of service, and brought up the dragoons and regiment of Flanders. This display of military force gave rise to the most vivid apprehensions; a report of some counter-revolutionary blow was spread, and the flight of the king, and the dissolution of the assembly, were announced. At the Luxembourg, at the Palais-Royal, at the *Champs-Elysées*, unknown uniforms were observed, white or yellow cockades. The enemies of the revolution manifested a joy which they had not for some time displayed; the court, by its conduct, confirmed suspicion, and defeated the object of all its preparations.

The officers of the regiment of Flanders, endured very impatiently by the town of Versailles, were entertained at the château, and

admitted to the parties of the queen. The court was anxious to assure itself of their devotions. A fête was given them by the guards of the king; the officers of dragoons, and chasseurs, who were at Versailles, those of the Swiss guards, of the Hundred Swiss, of the provost-marshal's guard, and the staff of the national guard, were invited to it. They chose for the banquet-room the grand saloon, for the exhibition of plays and other entertainments, exclusively destined to the most solemn festivals of the court, and which, since the marriage of the second brother of the king, had been opened only for the emperor Jeseph II. The king's band of musicians was ordered to assist at this festival, the first which the guards had ever given. During the banquet, they drank with enthusiasm the health of the royal family; that of the nation was omitted or rejected. At the second service, the grenadiers of France, the Swiss, and the dragoons, were introduced, in order to witness this spectacle, and participate in the sentiments which animated the guests. Their transports increased every moment; suddenly the king was announced, he entered the hall of the banquet in a hunting-dress,

followed by the queen, who held the dauphin in her arms. Acclamations of attachment and devotion rang through the saloon; with naked swords in hand, they drank to the health of the royal family; and at the moment when Louis XVI was retiring, the band struck up the air, *O Richard! O mon roi! l'univers t'abandonne!* The scene assumed then a character sufficiently significant. The jovial clamour and the profusion of wine banished all reserve. They sounded the charge; staggering, they scaled the boxes as if advancing to an assault, white cockades were distributed, the tri-coloured cockade is said to have been trodden under foot, and this troop then spread itself among the galleries of the château, where the ladies of the court overwhelmed them with congratulations, and decorated them with ribbons and cockades.

Such was the famous banquet of the 1st October, which the court had the imprudence to renew on the 3rd. We cannot but deplore its fatal want of foresight: it knew neither how to submit to its destiny, nor how to change it. The assembling of a military force, far from preventing the aggression of Paris, provoked it. The banquet did not render the devo-

tedness of the soldiers more certain, while it increased the disaffection of the multitude. To guard itself, there was no necessity for so much ardour, nor for flight so much preparation; but the court never took the proper measures for the success of its designs, or it took only half measures, and delayed its final decision till it was too late.

At Paris the news of the banquet and the appearance of the black cockades, produced the greatest fermentation. From the 4th, secret rumours, counter-revolutionary invitations, the apprehension of conspiracies, indignation against the court, the increasing fear of famine, everything announced a revolution; the multitude already turned its attention towards Versailles. On the 5th, the insurrection broke out in a manner at once violent and resistless; the absolute want of bread was the signal for it. A young woman entering a guard-house seized a drum, and ran along the streets beating it, and crying, *Bread! bread!* She was soon surrounded by a crowd of women. This mob advanced towards the Hotel-de-Ville, thickening as it went along: it forced the horse-guard, which was at the gates of the commune, penetrated to the in-

terior, and demanded bread and arms; it forced the gates, seized the arms, sounded the tocsin, and prepared to march on Versailles. Presently, the people *en masse* raised the same shout, and the cry *To Versailles!* became general. The women went first, under the conduct of Maillard, one of the volunteers of the Bastille. The people, the national guard, and the French guards, wished to follow. The commandant, La Fayette, opposed this departure a long time, but it was in vain; and neither his efforts nor his popularity could triumph over the obstinacy of the multitude. For seven hours he harangued and retained them. Finally, impatient of so much delay, disregarding his remonstrances, they were beginning to march without him; when feeling that it was now his duty to lead, as it had been before to arrest their career, he obtained from the commune the authority for his departure, and gave the signal for it at seven o'clock in the evening.

The agitation at Versailles, though less impetuous, was not less substantial; the national guard and the assembly were restless and irritated. The double banquet of the body-

guard; the approbation which the queen had manifested towards it, in saying, "*I was enchanted by the pleasures of Thursday;*" the refusal of the king to consent to the declaration of the Rights of Man, his concerted temporizations, and the want of food, excited the alarm of the representatives of the people, and filled them with suspicions. Pétion, having denounced the banquet of the guards, was summoned by a royalist deputy to prove his denunciation, and make known the guilty. "Let us declare expressly that everything which is not the king, is subject, and responsible," exclaimed Mirabeau, in a voice of thunder; "and I will furnish the proofs." These words, which pointed at the queen, silenced the right side. This angry discussion was followed by others, not less animated, upon the refusal of the sanction, and upon the famine of Paris. A deputation was about being sent to the king, to demand from him the simple and unmodified consent to the Rights of Man, and to conjure him to facilitate the provisioning of the capital by every means in his power, when they announced the arrival of the women, headed by Maillard.

Their unexpected appearance, for they had arrested all the couriers who could have announced it, excited the terror of the court. The soldiers of Versailles stood to their arms, and surrounded the château; but the intentions of the women were not hostile. Maillard, their leader, had persuaded them to present themselves as supplicants, and it was in this attitude that they exposed in succession their griefs to the assembly and to the king. Thus the first hours of this tumultuous evening were very calm; but it was impossible that the causes of trouble and hostility should not break out between this disorderly multitude and the body-guards, the object of so much irritation. These were placed in the court of the château, in front of the national guard and the regiment of Flanders. The interval which separated them was filled with women and volunteers of the Bastille. In the midst of the confusion which inevitably resulted from such an approximation, a quarrel began: this was the signal of disorder and of battle. An officer of the guards struck a Parisian soldier with his sabre, and in return was immediately shot in the arm.

The national guard took part against the body-guards; the fray became very violent, and would have been sanguinary, but for the night, which was unfavourable for such a struggle, and for the order which the body-guards received, first, to cease from firing, and then to retreat. But as they were accused of having been the aggressors, the fury of the multitude was for some time excessive; it rushed into their hotel; two of them were wounded, and another was with great difficulty saved.

During this disorder the court was in consternation; the flight of the king was deliberated upon; the carriages were ready: a piquet of the national guard perceived them at the gate of the Orangery, and made them enter after having closed the gate. The king, moreover, whether he was ignorant of the designs of the court, or whether he did not deem them practicable, refused to escape. Fears mingled themselves with his pacific intentions, since he would neither repel aggression, nor have recourse to flight. Vanquished, he apprehended the same fate as had befallen Charles the First in England; absent, he apprehended that the duke of

Orleans might obtain the lieutenancy of the kingdom. But in the mean time, the rain, fatigue, and the inaction of the body-guard, slackened the fury of the multitude, and La Fayette arrived at the head of the Parisian army.

His presence restored security to the court, and the answers of the king to the deputation of Paris satisfied the multitude and the army. In a short time, the activity of La Fayette, the good spirit and discipline of the Parisian guard, re-established order everywhere. The calm re-appeared. This assemblage of women and volunteers, overcome by weariness, slid quietly away; and the national guards were, some intrusted with the defence of the château, the rest received among their brethren in arms of Versailles. The royal family, re-assured after the alarms and fatigues of this anxious night, abandoned themselves to repose at two o'clock in the morning. At five o'clock, La Fayette, after having visited the outposts, which had been intrusted to him, finding the service well executed, the town calm, the mob either dispersed or asleep, himself took a slight rest.

Towards the hour of six, some individuals

of the mob, more elevated, and earlier awake, rambled round the château. They found an open grate; informed their companions of it, and entered by this aperture. Unfortunately, the inner posts had been left to the body-guard, and refused to the Parisian army; and this fatal refusal caused all the misfortunes of this night. The inner guard had not even been doubled; it had scarcely visited the grates; and the service was, in ordinary times, negligently performed. These men, agitated by all the passions which had urged them to Versailles, perceived one of the body-guard at a window, and assailed him with abuse. He drew upon them and wounded one. They then rushed upon the rest of guard, who defended the château foot by foot, and devoted themselves like heroes; one of them apprised the queen, whom the assailants especially menaced; she fled half naked to the king: the tumult and danger were extreme in the château.

La Fayette, being informed of the invasion of the royal residence, mounted his horse, and directed his course as rapidly as possible to the scene of danger. He found upon the spot

the body-guard, surrounded by a furious mob, determined to massacre them. He threw himself into the midst, called to his assistance some French guards, who were not far distant, and having dispersed the assailants, and saved the body-guard, precipitated himself into the château. He found it already succoured by the grenadiers of the French guards, who, at the first rumour of the tumult, had run thither, and protected the royal guard against the fury of the Parisians. But the scene was not yet terminated; the mob, re-assembled in the marble court, under the balcony of the king, demanded him with loud cries: the king appeared. They insisted upon his departure for Paris: he promised to go there with his family; and on this determination they covered him with applause. The queen was resolved to follow him; but the opposition was so strong against her, that the journey was not without danger. It was necessary to reconcile the multitude to her. La Fayette proposed to accompany her to the balcony: after some hesitation, she consented; they appeared together; and in order to make himself understood by this tumultu-

ous assembly, in order to overcome its animosities, to revive its enthusiasm, La Fayette kissed, with the profoundest respect, the hand of the queen: the multitude responded by acclamations. It still remained to make the peace of the body-guard. La Fayette advanced with one of them, placed upon his head his own tri-coloured cockade, and embraced him in the view of the mob, who shouted *Long live the body-guard!* Thus ended this scene; the royal family set out for Paris, escorted by the army and by its guards mixed with it.

The insurrection of the 5th and 6th October was a true popular movement: we must not seek for any secret causes of it, or ascribe it to concealed ambition; it was provoked by the imprudence of the court. The banquet of the body-guard, the rumours of the flight, the fear of civil war, and the famine, alone carried Paris upon Versailles. If particular instigators, which the most interested in proving the fact have left doubtful, contributed to produce the movement, they changed neither its direction nor its object. This event destroyed the ancient régime of the

court; it took away its guard; it transported it from the royal town to the capital of the revolution, and placed it under the surveillance of the people.

CHAPTER III.

Consequences of the events of October.—Change of the provinces into departments; organization of the administrative and municipal authorities on the system of the popular sovereignty, and of election.—Finances; all the means which were resorted to found insufficient; the benefices of the clergy proclaimed national property.—The sale of the benefices of the clergy leads to the assignats.—Civil constitution of the clergy; opposition of the bishops.—Anniversary of the 14th July; abolition of titles; federation of the Champ-de-Mars.—New organization of the army; opposition of the officers.—The schism of the civil constitution of the clergy.—Clubs.—Death of Mirabeau.—During all this period the separation of the parties becomes more and more decided.

The period which forms the subject of this chapter, was less remarkable for its events, than for the more decided separation of parties which it developed. In proportion as changes were effected in the state or the laws, those whose interests or opinions were struck at declared themselves against them. The revolution had been opposed from the commencement of the states-general by the court; from the re-union of the orders, and

the abolition of privileges, by the noblesse; from the establishment of a single assembly, and the rejection of the two chambers, by the minister and the partisans of the English government. It had, moreover, for adversaries, after the departmental organization, the old provinces; after the decree upon the property and the civil constitution of the clergy, the whole ecclesiastical body; after the new military laws, all the officers of the army. It seems, that the assembly should not have attempted so many changes at the same time, in order not to create to itself so many enemies; but its general plans, its wants, and the underplots even of its adversaries, required all these alterations.

The assembly, after the 5th and 6th October, had its emigration, as the court had after the 14th July. Mounier and Lally-Tollendal left it, and despaired of liberty, at the moment that their ideas ceased to be followed. Too absolute in their plans, they would have wished the people, after having delivered the assembly on the 14th July, to cease altogether from acting, which was entirely to misunderstand the sequency of revolutions. When they had once employed the people, it became very difficult

to disband them; and the most prudent plan would have been not to oppose but to regulate their intervention. Mounier retired to Dauphiny, his province, which he endeavoured to stir up against the assembly. He had the inconsistency to complain of one insurrection, and then to provoke another, when it could only profit another party; for his own was too feeble to sustain itself against the ancient régime and the revolution. In spite of his influence in Dauphiny, whose movements he had formerly directed, Mounier could not establish there a centre of durable resistance, although the assembly was diverted by it from destroying the ancient departmental organization, which might have served for the frame-work of a civil war.

After the 5th and 6th October, the national representation had followed the king into the capital, which their common presence had very much contributed to calm. The people were satisfied to possess their king; the motives which excited its effervescence had ceased; their distrust also had greatly abated; and at Paris the counter-revolutionary projects became difficult. The duke of Orleans, who, right or wrong, was considered as the

spring of the revolution, was sent away; he had consented to accept a mission to England. La Fayette was determined to preserve order: the national guard, which was animated by the best spirit, acquired every day new habits of discipline and obedience; the municipality was emerging from the confusion of its establishment, and beginning to have authority. There remained only one cause of trouble, the famine: in spite of the zeal and foresight of the committee charged with the purveying of provisions, mobs daily menaced the public tranquillity. The multitude, so liable to error at a period of suffering, murdered a baker named François, who had been unjustly designated as a forestaller. Martial law was then proclaimed, which authorized the municipality to employ force in dispersing these assemblages of people, after having first summoned them to retire. The power was in the hands of a class interested in preserving order: the commons and the national guards were subject to the assembly, obedience to the law being the passion of the epoch. The deputies, on their part, aspired only to perfect the constitution and effect the reorganization of the state. They had the more reason to

be expeditious, that the enemies of the assembly availed themselves of what remained of the ancient régime to throw embarrassments in its way; thus it answered to each of their attempts by a decree, which, in changing the ancient order of things, deprived them of one of their means of attack.

It began by distributing the realm in a manner more equal and more regular. The provinces, which had seen with regret the loss of their privileges, formed small states, of which the extent was too great, and the administration too independent: it was important to reduce their dimensions, to change their names, and to subject them to the same régime. The assembly adopted in this respect the project conceived by Sièyes, and presented by Thouret, in the name of the committee, which was occupied in this matter for two months.

France was divided into eighty-three departments, nearly equal in extent and in population; the departments were divided into districts, the districts into cantons. They regulated their administration in a manner uniform and hierarchical. The department had an administrative council, composed of

thirty-six members; and an executive directory, consisting of five: as their names indicate, the functions of the one were to decide, of the other to act. The district was organized in the same manner: although upon a smaller scale, it had a council and a directory, which were less numerous, and which relieved the superior council and directory. The canton, consisting of five or six parishes, was instituted for electoral purposes, and not administrative; the acting citizens (and in order to become such, it was necessary to pay a contribution equivalent to three days' labour) assembled in the canton to nominate their deputies and magistrates. Everything in the new plan was submitted to election; but this had many gradations. It appeared imprudent to intrust to the multitude the choice of delegates, and illegal not to let them concur in it: they escaped this difficulty by the double election. The acting citizens of the canton designated the electors, who in their turn nominated the members of the national assembly, the administrators of the department, those of the district, and the judges of the tribunals. A criminal tribunal was established for every department,

a civil tribunal for each district, and a tribunal of peace for each canton.

Such was the institution of the department; it remained to regulate that of the commune. The administration of this last was confided to a general council and a municipality, composed of members whose number was proportionate to the population of the town. The municipal officers were nominated immediately by the people, and were alone able to call out the assistance of an armed force. The commune was the first degree of the civil association, the kingdom as a whole was the last; the department was intermediate between the commune and the state, between the universal interests and interests purely local.

The execution of this plan, which organized the sovereignty of the people, which made all the citizens concur in the election of their magistrates, which confided to them their peculiar administration, and distributed them into parts; which in permitting to the estate to move itself in one body, maintained the correspondence of the parts and prevented their isolation, excited the discontent of some of the provinces. The states of Languedoc

and Brittany protested against the new division of the realm; and the parliament of Metz, of Rouen, of Bordeaux, of Toulouse, on their part, opposed the operations of the assembly which suppressed the chambers of vacations, abolished the orders, and declared incompetent the commissions of the states. The partisans of the ancient régime seized every means of arresting its progress: the noblesse excited the provinces, the parliaments made resolutions, the clergy issued mandates, and writers availed themselves of the liberty of the press to attack the revolution. Its two principal enemies were the nobles and the bishops. The parliament, having no root in the nation, formed only a magistracy, whose attacks they put an end to by destroying it; instead of which the noblesse and the clergy had means of action which survived their influence as a body. The misfortunes of these two classes were caused by themselves: after having harassed the revolution in the assembly, they at last attacked it by open force; the clergy by internal insurrections, the noblesse by arming Europe against it. They hoped much from anarchy, which caused, it is true, great evils to France, but which was far from

bettering their situation. Let us see how the hostility of the clergy was induced; and for this purpose it will be necessary to resume the inquiry a little farther back.

The revolution had been commenced by financial difficulties, and had not yet been able to remove the embarrassments which had produced it. Moreover, important objects had occupied the time of the assembly. Called on no longer to supply the wants of the administration, but to constitute the state, it had from time to time, suspended its legislative discussions, to satisfy the most urgent wants of the treasury. Necker had proposed provisional means, which had been adopted with confidence, and almost without discussion. Notwithstanding this readiness, he did not see, with satisfaction, the finances subservient to the constitution, and the minister to the assembly. A first loan of thirty millions, decreed on the 9th August, had not succeeded; a subsequent loan of eighty millions, decreed on the 27th of the same month, had been insufficient. The imposts were reduced or abolished, and they produced almost nothing from the difficulty of collecting them. It became useless to recur to the public confidence, which

refused its aid; and, in September, Necker proposed an extraordinary contribution of a fourth of the national income payable at once; each citizen was to fix it himself, employing only this simple formula of oath, and which well depicts these first times of loyalty and patriotism: "I declare with truth," &c.

It was then that Mirabeau obtained for Necker the decree of a true financial dictatorship. He spoke of the urgent wants of the state, of the labours of the assembly, which did not permit it to discuss the plan of the minister, and which forbade it from examining any other; of the skill of Necker, who promised the success of his own; and he pressed the assembly to throw upon him the responsibility of success, by adopting it with confidence. As some did not approve of the plans of the minister, as others suspected the intentions of Mirabeau in this matter, he ended this harangue, one of the most eloquent which he had pronounced, by shewing the menacing bankruptcy, and by exclaiming, "Vote this extraordinary subsidy, and it may be sufficient! Vote it, because if you have doubts upon the means, you cannot have any upon the necessity, and

upon the impossibility of replacing it; vote it, because the public circumstances will not suffer any delay, and that we should be accountable for every delay. Beware of demanding time; misfortune never grants it. . . . With regard to a ridiculous motion of the Palais-Royal, of a laughable insurrection which never had any importance except in weak imaginations, or in the perverse machinations of designing men, you have lately heard these furious words: *Catiline is at the gates of Rome, and we deliberate!* And indeed there was around us neither Catiline, nor perils, nor factions, nor Rome; but now the bankruptcy, the hideous bankruptcy, is here; it threatens to swallow up yourselves, your property, your honour; and you deliberate!" Mirabeau had subdued the assembly, and they voted the patriotic contribution amid universal plaudits.

But this resource produced only a momentary relief. The finances of the revolution depended on a hardier and more gigantic measure: it was necessary not only to subsist the revolution, but also to fill up the immense deficit which retarded its march, and menaced its future designs. There remained only one means, that of declaring national

the property of the church, and of selling it for the use of the state. The public interest also required it, and they could do it with justice, the clergy not being the proprietors, but simply the administrators of its benefices, which were given to the religion, not to the priests. The nation in charging itself with the expenses of the altar, and the support of its ministers, could therefore appropriate these benefices, and obtain a tonce a great financial resource, and a great political result.

It was important to have no longer in the state an independant body, especially if it were ancient; for, in a time of revolution, whatever is ancient is an enemy. The clergy, by its formidable hierarchy, and its opulence, would have maintained itself a separate republic in the realm. This form was suitable for the ancient régime: when there was no state but only bodies, each order had provided for its organization and its existence. The clergy had its decretals, the noblesse its law of fiefs, the people its municipalities; everything was independent, because everything was private; but now, when the functions became public, it was

consistent to make of the priesthood a magistracy, as had already been done with the royal power; and in order to render them dependent on the state, it was necessary to pay them, and to take from the monarch his domains, from the clergy its benefices, replacing them by adequate salaries. Let us see how they conducted this grand operation, which destroyed the ancient ecclesiastical régime.

One of the most urgent necessities was the abolition of tithes. As it was an impost paid to the clergy by the inhabitants of the country, the sacrifice was to turn to the profit of those who had been crushed by it. Thus, after having, on the night of the 4th August, declared them redeemable, they suppressed them without equivalent, on the 11th of the same month; the clergy at first resisted, but they had afterwards the good sense to consent to this measure. The archbishop of Paris abandoned tithes in the name of all his brethren, and by this act of prudence he showed himself faithful to the practices of the privileged, on the night of the 4th August, but this was the term of his sacrifices.

A short time after, the discussion began on

the property of the ecclesiastical benefices. Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, proposed to the clergy to renounce it in favour of the nation, which would employ it in the support of the altars, and the payment of its debt. He proved the justice and the propriety of this measure; he showed the great advantages which would result from it to the state. The benefices of the clergy amounted to many thousand millions of francs: in charging itself with its debts, with the ecclesiastic service, with that of the hospitals, and with the endowment of its ministers, there still remained sufficient to satisfy all the public rents, as well perpetual as for life, and to re-imburse the expenditure of the offices of judicature. The clergy struggled against this proposition. The discussion was very animated; it was proved, despite of its resistance, that the clergy were not the proprietors, but simply the depositaries of the benefices consecrated to the altars by the piety of the kings and the faithful, and that the nation, in furnishing the means of supporting this service, was entitled to resume possession of the benefices. The decree which put them in its possession was carried the 2d December.

From that moment the hatred of the clergy to the revolution broke forth. They had been less intractable than the noblesse at the commencement of the states-general, in the hope of preserving their wealth: afterwards they showed themselves not less opposed to the new régime. Nevertheless, as the decree put the ecclesiastical property at the disposal of the nation, without its being as yet divested, this hatred did not break out at once. For some time the administration was in its confidence, and it hoped that the property would be put in pledge for the debt, but that it would not be sold,

It was, in fact, difficult to effect this sale, which nevertheless could not be put off, as the treasury, subsisting only by anticipation by getting its bills discounted, began to lose all credit from the excessive amount of its issues. This is the way in which they brought matters to a termination, and proceeded to the new financial arrangement. The wants of this and the following year, required a sale of property to the amount of four hundred millions of francs. To facilitate it, the municipality of Paris entered into a considerable recognizance, and the municipalities of the

realm followed the example of that of Paris. They undertook to pay into the treasury the purchase-money of the estates which they received from the state to sell out to private individuals; but they had no money, and they could not put down the price, inasmuch as they had as yet no buyers. What were they to do then? they furnished municipal bills, in order to pay the public creditors, until they should have acquired the funds necessary to redeem these bills. When they had proceeded so far, they found that instead of these municipal bills, it would be better to create exchequer bills, which had a forced currency, and which might discharge the functions of money: the operation was simplified by generalising it. Thus *assignats* came into existence.

This discovery very greatly facilitated the operations of the revolution, and enabled the state to effect the sale of the ecclesiastical property: the assignats, which were a means of payment for the state, became a pledge for the creditors, and moreover a real money. In this manner, the creditor who received them was not bound to pay himself in lands for that which he had furnished in money;

but sooner or later the assignats must arrive in the hands of men disposed to realize them, and then they should be destroyed at the same time that the pledge ceases. To the fulfilment of their object, a forced circulation was necessary: that they should be solid, the quantity sold was limited to the value of the benefices put in sale; that they might not be liable to a sudden change, they carried interest; the assembly wished to give them from the moment of the issue all the consistency of money. It hoped that the money which had vanished in a period of distrust, would presently reappear, and that the assignats would circulate concurrently with it. The pledge rendered them as safe, and the interest more advantageous; but this interest which had great inconveniences, disappeared at the next issue. Such was the commencement of this paper money, sent out in the first instance with so much necessity and prudence, which enabled the revolution to accomplish such great objects, and which was discredited by causes, which sprung less from its nature than the use which was subsequently made of it.

When the clergy saw the administration of

their benefices transferred to the municipalities the sale of four hundred millions which they were about to make of them, the creation of a paper money which facilitated its divestment, and rendered it definitive, they omitted no means to obtain the intervention of the Deity in behalf of their riches. As a last resource, the clergy offered to realize in their name, a loan of four hundred millions, which was rejected, because otherwise their right of property would have been recognized anew, after it had been decided that they had none. They then sought by every means to control the operations of the municipalities: at midday they excited the catholics against the protestants; in the pulpit they alarmed their consciences, in the confessional they treated the sale as sacrilege, and on the tribune they endeavoured to create suspicions on the sentiments of the assembly. They originated, as much as possible, religious questions, in order, by this means, to compromise and to confound the cause of their own interest with that of religion. Already when the abolition of monastic vows, the abuses and inutility of which were then recognised by all the world, even by the clergy, the bishop of Nancy had

proposed in an incidental and crafty manner, that the catholic religion should be the only public worship; the assembly cried out against the motives which had suggested this proposition, and rejected it. But the same proposition was presented anew in another sitting; and after the most stormy debates, the assembly declared that from reverence to the Supreme Being, and the catholic religion, the only one which was maintained at the expense of the state, it ought not to pronounce upon the question which was submitted to it.

Such were the dispositions of the clergy when the assembly began the interior organization. They waited impatiently for this occasion of exciting a schism. This project, which has done so much mischief, proposed to re-constitute the church upon its ancient basis, and to restore the purity of its creed: it was not the work of philosophers, but of austere christians, who wished to build up a church upon the basis of the constitution, and to make them both concur in promoting the welfare of the state. The reduction of the bishopricks to the number of the departments, the conformity of the ecclesiastical

with the civil boundaries, the nomination of the bishops by the electors, who should choose the administrators and the deputies, the suppression of chapters, and the replacing of canons by curates,—such was this plan. No part of it made any encroachment on the dogmas or the worship of the church. For a long time the bishops and the other ecclesiastics were nominated by the people; and as to the diocesan limits, it was an operation purely material, and which had nothing to do with religion; the support of the members of the clergy was moreover generously provided; and if the high dignitaries saw their revenues diminished, the *curés*, who formed the most numerous and most useful class, obtained an augmentation of theirs.

But a pretext was wanting, and that of the civil constitution of the clergy was greedily seized. At the opening of the discussion, the archbishop of Aix protested against the principles of the ecclesiastical committee. According to him it was inconsistent with discipline that the bishops should be instituted by the civil authority or divested by it; and at the moment when the decree was put to the vote, the bishop of Clermont recapi-

tulated the principles expounded by the archbishop of Aix, and he left the hall at the head of all the dissident members. The decree passed; but the clergy declared war against the revolution.

From this moment, the ecclesiastical body joined in the strictest league with the dissident noblesse. Reduced to a common condition, the two privileged classes employed all their efforts to prevent the execution of the reforms. Scarcely were the departments formed, when they sent to them delegates, to reunite the electors, and attempt new nominations. Their hope was not to obtain a favourable choice, but to create divisions between the assembly and the departments. This project was denounced from the tribune; and as soon as it was known, it failed. Its authors then tried another scheme: the term of the commissions given to the deputies of the states-general was at hand, their power was to last only one year, according to the vote of the *bailliages*; the aristocrats availed themselves of this expiration to obtain a new election of the assembly. Had they succeeded, they would have gained a great advantage; and it was for this reason that they

themselves invoked the sovereignty of the people. "Undoubtedly," answered Chapelier, to their arguments, "all sovereignty resides in the people, but this principle has no application under the present circumstances. This would be to destroy the constitution and liberty rather than renew the assembly, even before the constitution is completed; such is, in fact, the hope of those who wish to see the constitution and liberty perish, and to see the distinction of the orders spring up again, the prodigality of the public revenue, and the abuses which march in the train of despotism." All eyes at this moment were directed to the right side, and rested on the abbé Maury: "*Send these gentlemen then to the Châtelet,*" he abruptly exclaimed, "*or if you do not know them, say nothing about them.*" "It is impossible," continued Chapelier, "that the constitution should be the work of more than one assembly. Besides, the ancient electors no longer exist; the bailiwicks are confounded in the departments; the orders are no longer separate. The clause of the limitation of the power loses its value; it is therefore contrary to the principles of the constitution, that the deputies, whose authority is affected only by

it, should not continue in this assembly; their oath commands them to remain here, and the public interest requires it."

"We are environed by sophisms," replied the abbé Maury; "for how long have we been a national convention? They speak of the oath we have taken on the 20th June, without dreaming that it cannot subvert that which we have taken to our constituents. And since, gentlemen, the constitution is achieved, it remains for us only to declare, that the king possesses the plenitude of the executive power; we are here only to assure to the French people the right of influencing its legislation, to establish the principle, that taxes shall be consented to by the people,—in a word, to assure our liberty. Yes, the constitution is made, and I oppose myself to every decree which limits the rights of the people over their representatives. The founders of liberty ought to respect the liberty of the nation. It is above us, and by putting limits to the national authority we destroy our own."

Applauses resounded from the right side at these words of the abbé Maury. Mirabeau immediately ascended the tribune. "They de-

mand," says he, "how long the deputies of the people have become the national convention? I answer, it was on that day when, finding their seat of assembly surrounded by soldiers, they proceeded to sit in the first place where they could assemble themselves, in order to swear that they would perish rather than betray and abandon the rights of the nation. Our powers, such as they were, on that day changed their nature. Whatever may be the powers we have exercised, our efforts, our labours, have legitimated them. The adherence of the nation has sanctified them. You recall the words of that great man of antiquity, who had neglected the legal forms to save his country. Summoned by a factious tribune, to say, if he had observed the laws: he answered, 'I swear that I have saved the country!' Gentlemen, (turning himself to the deputies of the commons,) I swear that you have saved France!" The entire assembly rose in a spontaneous movement, and declared, that its session should end only when its work was accomplished.

Counter-revolutionary attempts also multiplied out of the assembly. It was endea-

voured to seduce or to disorganize the army, but the assembly adopted the wisest measures to meet this emergency. It attached the troops to the revolution by rendering the gradation and promotion independent of the court and of titles of nobility. The count d'Artois, who had taken refuge at Turin, formed a correspondence with Lyons and the south; but the emigration not having at this epoch reached the consistency abroad which it subsequently attained, and having no *point d'appui* in the interior, all his projects failed. The attempts of the clergy at insurrection in Languedoc were without effect; they induced some troubles of short duration, but which did not lead to a religious war. It requires some time to form a party, and still more is necessary to determine it on serious combat. A design less impracticable, was that of carrying off the king, and taking him to Péronne. The marquis of Favras had taken upon himself the execution of this enterprise, when it was discovered. The court of the Châtelet condemned to death this intrepid adventurer, who failed in his project, because he had made too much preparation. The escape of

the king, after the events of October, could only be effected furtively, as he afterwards went to Varennes.

The court was in an equivocal and embarrassed position; it encouraged every enterprise, it undertook none; it felt more than ever its weakness; and eagerly desirous of extricating itself, it feared to make any attempt, since success seemed so difficult. Thus it excited resistance without openly cooperating in it. With some it dreamed of the ancient régime, with others it sought only to moderate the revolution. Mirabeau had lately treated with it. Having been one of the principal authors of the reform, he wished to consolidate it by chaining down faction; his object was to convert the court to the revolution, and not to deliver up the revolution to the court. The support which he offered was constitutional; he could not in fact propose any other, for his power sprang from his popularity, and his popularity from his principles. But he erred in endeavouring to purchase it; if his immense necessities had not compelled him to accept money, and sell his councils, he had been no more blameable than the unalterable La

Fayette, Lameth, and the Girondists, who successively conferred with it. But neither the one nor the other ever acquired the absolute confidence of the court, which had recourse to them only in the last resort; it tried, by means of them, to suspend the revolution; and, by means of the aristocracy, to destroy it. Of all the popular leaders, Mirabeau was perhaps the one who exercised the greatest ascendancy over the court, because he was the most insinuating and the most energetic.

In the midst of all these conspiracies and intrigues, the assembly laboured without intermission at the constitution. The popular torrent, after having spent its fury upon the ancient régime, fell gradually into its old channel. New banks confined it on every side; the government of the revolution established itself promptly; the assembly had given to the new régime its monarch, its national representation, its territorial division, its armed force, its municipal and administrative powers, its popular tribunals, its currency, its clergy; it had discovered a pledge for its debt, and a means of transferring property without injustice.

All the new magistracies were held for li-

mited periods. Under the absolute monarchy, power flowed from the throne; its functionaries were nominated by the king. Under the constitutional monarchy, all power flowed from the people; its functionaries were nominated by the people. The throne alone was transmissible; the other powers were neither the property of a man nor of a family, and were neither for life nor hereditary. The legislation of this period depended on a single principle—the sovereignty of the nation. Even the judicial functions had this character of mobility; the jury, a democratic institution, common in former times all over the continent, and which in England alone had survived the encroachments of the feudal system or the throne, was introduced in criminal causes. In civil cases, special judges were nominated; they established permanent tribunals, with two degrees of jurisdiction, so as to give a remedy against error, and a court of cassation for the preservation of the fundamental forms of the law. But the judges were elective and temporary. This great power, when it springs from the throne, to be independent ought to be irremovable; but it may be temporary when it is derived

from the people, because being dependent on all, it is dependent on no one.

In another very important matter—the right of peace and war, the assembly decided a new and delicate question, and did it in a manner prompt, certain, and just, after one of the most luminous and eloquent discussions which had adorned its sittings. As war and peace belong rather to action than to will, contrary to the ordinary rule, the assembly gave the initiative power to the king. He, who was most in the way of knowing the propriety of war or peace, ought to propose it, but it was for the legislative body to make a final determination.

The 14th July was approaching, a day which was the anniversary of the nation's deliverance; they prepared to celebrate it by a solemnity which should elevate the souls of the citizens, and bind them in closer bonds. A confederation of the whole realm was to take place in the Champ-de-Mars, and there, in the open air, the deputies sent by the eighty-three departments, the national representation, the Parisian guard, the monarch, were to take the oath to the constitution. As a prelude to this patriotic festival, the popular

members of the noblesse proposed the abolition of titles, and the assembly hastened to renew a sitting similar to the 4th August. Titles, armorial bearings, liveries, orders of chivalry, were abolished, and vanity lost its privileges, as power had already done.

This sitting led to a universal equality, and put words in accordance with things, by destroying these trappings of other times. Titles had formerly designated functions; armorial bearings had distinguished powerful families; liveries had been invented for the armies of vassals; the orders of chivalry had defended the state against the foreigner, or Europe against Islamism; but at the present day nothing of this remains. Titles had lost their reality and their suitableness: the noblesse, after having ceased to be a magistracy, had ceased even to be an illustration, and power as well as glory was to spring from plebeian ranks. But whether the aristocracy was more attached to its titles than its privileges, or whether it had been waiting only for a pretext to declare itself openly, this last measure, more than any other, led to its emigration and its attacks. It was to the noblesse what the civil constitution had been for

the clergy, an occasion rather than a cause of hostility.

The 14th July arrived; the revolution had few days more triumphant; the weather alone did not correspond with this magnificent fête. The deputies from all the departments were presented to the king, who welcomed them with great affability. He received also the most touching testimonies of affection, but it was as a constitutional king. "Sire," said the leader of the Breton deputation, putting one knee on the ground, and presenting his sword to him, "I replace in your hands the faithful sword of the brave Bretons; it shall be stained only by the blood of your enemies." Louis XVI raised him, embraced him, replaced the sword in his hands. "It will never be better," answered he, "than in the hands of my affectionate Bretons; I have never doubted of their affection and fidelity. Assure them that I am the father, the brother, the friend of all Frenchmen." "Sire," added the deputy, "all Frenchmen cherish you, and will cherish you, because you are a citizen king."

It was in the Champ-de-Mars that the federation took place. The immense prepara-

tions for this festival were with difficulty completed. All Paris had assisted for several weeks, in order that everything should be ready on the 14th. At seven o'clock in the morning, the assemblage of electors, of representatives of the commune, the presidents of the districts, the national assembly, the Parisian guard, the deputies of the army, the federates of the departments, went in procession from the place of the Bastile. The presence of all the national bodies, the floating banners, the patriotic inscriptions, the varied costumes, the sounds of music, the joy of the people, produced a grand effect. The procession traversed the town, and passed the Seine, across a bridge of boats, which had been thrown over in the evening, to the sound of a discharge of artillery. It entered the Champ-de-Mars, through a triumphal arch, decorated with patriotic inscriptions. Each body, hailed with applauses, placed itself in the situation destined for it.

The vast site of the Champ-de-Mars was surrounded by steps of green turf rising one above another, occupied by four hundred thousand spectators; in the middle rose an altar, constructed according to the manner of

the ancients; around the altar, in a vast amphitheatre, were seen the king, his family, the assembly, and the municipality; the federates of the departments were placed in order under their banners; the deputies of the army were in their ranks, and under their colours; the bishop of Autun ascended the altar in pontifical robes; four hundred priests, clothed in white surplices, and decorated with floating tri-coloured cinctures, proceeded to the four corners of the altar. Mass was celebrated amidst the sound of military instruments; the bishop of Autun then blessed the oriflamme, and the eighty-three banners. A profound silence now ensued in this vast enclosure; and La Fayette, nominated this day commandant-general of all the national guards of the realm, advanced first to take the civic oath. He was carried, in the arms of grenadiers, on to the altar of the country, in the midst of the acclamations of the people; he then, in an elevated voice, in his own name, in the name of the troops, and of the federates, spoke as follows: "We swear to be for ever faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king; to maintain with all our power the constitution decreed by the national assembly, and ac-

cepted by the king; and to remain united to all Frenchmen by indissoluble ties of fraternity." Discharges of artillery, shouts of *Long live the nation! long live the king!* the clashing of arms, the sounds of music, instantly mingled in one unanimous and prolonged cadence. The president of the assembly took the same oath, and all the deputies repeated it at the same time. Louis XVI then rising, "I," said he, "the king of France, swear to employ all the powers delegated to me by the constitutional act of the state, to maintain the constitution decreed by the national assembly, and accepted by me." The queen being then led forward, and raising the dauphin in her arms, and shewing him to the people, said, "Here is my son; he unites with me in the same sentiments." At the same instant the banners were lowered, the acclamations of the people were heard in one loud and prolonged shout. Subjects believed in the sincerity of the monarch, and the monarch in the attachment of his subjects; and this happy day was terminated by a solemn chant of thanksgiving.

The festival of the federation was prolonged some time longer: plays, illuminations, balls, were given by the city of Paris to the deputies

of the departments. A dance was celebrated on the very spot where formerly had stood the Bastille. Gratings, bars, ruins, were scattered here and there, and over the gate was written this inscription, which contrasted finely with the ancient destination of this abode—*Dancing here.* "They danced, in fact," says a contemporary, "with joy, with security, on the very spot where had flowed so many tears—where courage, genius, and innocence had so often breathed forth their groans—where the cries of despair had so often been stifled." After the fêtes were terminated, medals were struck to perpetuate the remembrance of them, and the federates returned to their departments.

The federation had only suspended the hostilities of the parties; they recommenced them by small intrigues, as well within the assembly as without. The duke of Orleans had returned from his mission, or, to speak more properly, from his exile. The information which charged Mirabeau with being the author of the riots of the 5th and 6th October, had been conducted by the court of the Châtelet. This process, which had been suspended, was now resumed. The court by this attack gave

another proof of its improvidence; for it should either have been able to prove the accusation, or it should not have made it. The assembly, which had determined to acquit them, even if they had proved guilty, declared that there were no grounds for the charge; and Mirabeau, after a most brilliant invective against this procedure, forced the right side into silence, and stood triumphant from an accusation which had been raised only to frighten him.

They did not content themselves by merely attacking single deputies, but they tried to subvert the assembly itself. The court intrigued against it; the right side pushed it to exaggeration. "We love its decrees," said the abbé Maury; "we must have three or four more of them." Hired libellers stood at its very gates, selling pamphlets to excite against it the suspicions of the people; the ministers censured and opposed its march. Necker, always haunted by the remembrance of his former ascendancy, addressed memorials to the assembly, combating its decrees, and offering it his councils. This minister could not reconcile himself to a secondary part; he did not want to follow the plans of the assem-

bly, but to impose his own upon it. The times were changed; and finally, convinced or wearied by the ill success of his efforts, Necker retired, and traversed in obscurity the provinces through which, a short time before, he had been carried in triumph—a good example of the uncertainty of popular favour. In revolutions, individuals are easily forgotten, because the people see much of them, and live fast. If they would not have the people ungrateful, they should never cease for an instant to serve them in their own way.

On the other hand, the noblesse, who had found a new subject of discontent in the abolition of titles, continued their counter-revolutionary attempts. As they failed in exciting the people to rebellion, since these, not being privileged, found the new changes very advantageous, they tried another scheme, which appeared more certain—they left the kingdom in order that they might afterwards re-enter it, after having engaged Europe in their quarrel. But while the emigration was organizing;—while it was seeking foreign enemies to fight the revolution, it continued to cherish discontent within the bosom of the country. The troops had been for some time canvassed by

opposite parties, as has been said before. The new military code was favourable to the soldiers: the promotions were formerly given to the noblesse, it now gave them to seniority. The greater part of the officers were attached to the ancient régime, and they did not conceal their sentiments. Compelled to take the oath of fidelity *to the nation, to the law, and to the king*, which was become the common oath, some quitted the army, and thickened the ranks of emigration; others sought to gain over the soldiers to their party. General Bouillé was of this number: after having a long time refused the civic oath, he at length took it with this intention. He had under his command a considerable number of troops; he was near the frontier of the north, active, resolute, attached to the king, an enemy of the revolution, such as it had now become, though a partisan of reform, which consequently made him suspected at Coblentz. He kept his army apart from the citizens, to preserve it faithful and free from the spirit of insubordination which they communicated to the troops; he knew, also, how to preserve, by a discreet conduct, and by the ascendancy of a high character, the confi-

dence and the attachment of the soldiers. It was not the same in other quarters: the officers were the objects of general abuse,—they were accused of diminishing the pay, of rendering no account of the military chest; opinion was also busy among them. These combined causes excited rebellion on the part of the soldiers: that of Nancy produced much alarm, and was almost the signal of a civil war. Three regiments—that of Chateauvieux, that of Maistre-de-camp, and that of the king, rose against their commanders. Bouillé received orders to march upon them, which he did, at the head of the garrison and the national guards of Metz. After considerable resistance, he succeeded in reducing them. The assembly congratulated him; but Paris, which saw in the soldiers patriots, and in Bouillé a conspirator, was roused into commotion by the news. Mobs were formed, who demanded the impeachment of the ministers who had given Bouillé orders to march against Nancy. Nevertheless, La Fayette succeeded in dissipating their discontents, assisted by the assembly, which, seeing itself between a counter-revolution and an anarchy,

opposed itself to both of them with as much sagacity as courage.

The aristocrats triumphed in the difficulties which embarrassed the national assembly. According to them, the assembly must either make itself dependent on the multitude, or be deprived of its support; and in either case the passage to the ancient régime appeared sufficiently short and easy. The clergy aided them with all their efforts; the sale of their property, which they had hindered as much as possible, was going on at prices even higher than those which had been estimated. The people, delivered from tithes, and re-assured upon the subject of the national debt, were far from lending themselves to the resentments of the bishops; from the civil constitution of the clergy, they had employed it in exciting a schism; this decree of the assembly had, as we have seen, touched neither their discipline nor their creed. The king sanctioned it; but the bishops, who wished to conceal their interests under the mantle of religion, declared that it was an encroachment upon the spiritual power. The pope, consulted upon this measure, which was

purely political, had refused his assent, notwithstanding the earnest request of the king, and sustained, by his encouragement, the opposition of the bishops. These decided that they could not concur in the establishment of the civil constitution; that those, who were to be suppressed, should protest against this uncanonical act; that every creation of a bishop, made without the consent of the pope, should be considered null, and that the metropolitans should refuse institution to bishops nominated according to civic forms.

In wishing to break this confederacy, the assembly strengthened it. If it had abandoned the dissident priests to themselves, they would, notwithstanding their efforts, have found no elements of a religious war. But the assembly decreed that the priests should swear to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and to maintain the civil constitution of the clergy. The refusal of this oath was to lead to the appointing new incumbents to their sees or cures. The assembly hoped that the high clergy from interest, the inferior clergy from ambition, would adopt this measure. The bishops, on

the other hand, believed that all the ecclesiastics would follow their example, and that by refusing to swear, they would leave the state without the forms of worship, and the people without priests. The result disappointed the anticipations of both parties. The majority of the bishops and curés of the assembly refused the oath; but some bishops, and many curates took it. The non-conforming incumbents were ejected, and the electors nominated their successors, who received canonical institution from the bishops of Autun and Lida; but the deposed ecclesiastics refused to abandon their functions; they declared their successors intruders; the sacraments administered by them null; the christians who were bold enough to acknowledge them, excommunicated. They did not quit their diocese; they issued charges; they excited disobedience to the laws; and thus what had been an affair of interest, became first an affair of religion, and afterwards an affair of party. There was a double clergy, the one constitutional, the other refractory; they had each their partisans, and treated each other as rebels or heretics. Religion became, according to their passions and their

interests, an instrument or an obstacle; and when the priests became fanatics, the revolutionists became infidels. The people, who had not yet arrived at this malady of the higher classes, lost, in the towns especially, the faith of their forefathers, from the imprudence of those who placed it between the revolution and public worship. "The bishops," said the marquis de Ferrières, "in whom we will suspect no blame, refused to make any arrangement; and by their culpable intrigues closed every avenue to reconciliation, sacrificing the catholic religion to a foolish infatuation, and an unworthy attachment to their wealth."

The countenance of the people was sought by all parties; they were conciliated as the sovereign of the time. Having tried to act upon them through the medium of religion, clubs, another medium at that time all-powerful, were put in operation. Clubs were, at this epoch, private unions, in which were discussed the measures of government, the affairs of the state, and the decrees of the assembly: their deliberations had no authority, but they were not without influence. The first club had its origin with the Breton

deputies, who met together to concert their proceedings. When the national representation was transferred from Versailles to Paris, the Breton deputies, and those who thought with them, held their sittings in the ancient convent of the Jacobins, which gave its name to their union. It was at first only a preparatory assembly; but as everything which exists extends itself, the Jacobin club did not content itself with influencing the assembly, it became desirous of acting also upon the municipality and the multitude, and admitted, as associates, the members of the commune, and persons who were merely citizens. Its organization became more regular, its action more powerful; new societies were affiliated in the provinces, and it raised by the side of legal power another power, which began by counselling, and ended by directing it.

The club of Jacobins, in putting off its first philosophic character, had been abandoned by a part of its founders. These established a club upon the original plan, under the name of the club of eighty-nine. Sièyes, Chapelier, La Fayette, La Rochefoucault, directed it, as Lameth and Barnave directed

that of the Jacobins. Mirabeau shared in the deliberations of both, and was equally sought after by each of them. These clubs, of which one exercised its influence in the assembly, the other among the people, were attached to the new order of things, though in different degrees. The aristocrats wished to attack the revolution with its own arms : it raised royalist clubs, to oppose the popular clubs. The first of them, established under the name of the *Impartialists*, soon fell to the ground, because it addressed itself to the opinions of no party. Having re-appeared under the name of the *Monarchic* club, it had among its members all those whose views it represented. Wishing to gain the favour of the people, it made distributions of bread among them; but far from accepting them, the people considered this establishment as a counter-revolutionary manœuvre; it disturbed their sittings, and compelled them to change their place of meeting several times. Finally, this club became the occasion of so much commotion, that the municipal authority was obliged to put an end to it.

The distrust of the multitude was extreme: the departure of the aunts of the king, of

which it exaggerated the importance, increased its inquietude, and made it suppose that his own was in preparation. Their suspicions were not without foundation, and gave rise to a sort of commotion of which the counter-revolutionists wished to avail themselves to carry off the king. This project failed through the determination and address of La Fayette. While the multitude were marching off to Vincennes to demolish the tower, which, according to their notion, communicated with the Tuileries, and was to serve for the escape of the king, more than six hundred persons, armed with spears and poniards, attacked the Tuileries, for the purpose of carrying him off. La Fayette, who had gone to Vincennes at the head of the national guard to disperse the mob, arrived in time to disarm the counter-revolutionists, after having quieted the popular assemblage, and regained, by his second expedition, the confidence which he had lost by the first.

This attempt increased more than ever an apprehension, that Louis XVI intended, if possible, to effect his escape. Thus, when he wished some time after to go to St. Cloud, he was prevented by the mob, and by his own

guard, in spite of the efforts of La Fayette, who tried to make them respect the laws, and the liberty of the monarch. The assembly, on its part, after having decreed the inviolability of the prince, after having regulated his constitutional guard, having assigned the regency to the nearest male heir of the crown, declared that his flight out of the realm would be a forfeiture. The increase of emigration, its declared objects, the menacing attitude of the European cabinets, very naturally induced the apprehension that the king would adopt such a determination.

It was then, for the first time, that the assembly wished to arrest the progress of emigration by a decree; but such a decree was very difficult to be framed. If they should punish those who left the realm, they would violate the maxims of liberty consecrated in the declaration of rights; if they should not put some restraints on emigration, they would expose France to peril, since the nobles were quitting it for a moment only to invade it. In the assembly, besides those who were favourable to emigration, there were some who saw only the right, others who saw only the danger; and according to

his manner of viewing the question, every one declared for, or against the restraining law. Those who demanded the law, wished it to be mild; but, at the moment, there was only one practicable, and the assembly recoiled before it. This law, upon the arbitrary designation of a committee of three members, was to pronounce the civil death of the fugitive, and the confiscation of his property. "The groans which are heard at the reading of this project," exclaimed Mirabeau, "prove that this law is worthy of being placed in the code of Draco, and cannot be enrolled among the decrees of the national assembly of France. I declare that I should feel myself absolved from every oath of fidelity towards those who could be base enough to nominate a dictatorial commission. The popularity at which I aspire, and which I have the honour to enjoy, is not a tottering reed; it is in the earth that I wish to strike its roots, upon the bases of justice and liberty." The external situation was not then sufficiently alarming to demand such a measure of security and revolutionary defence.

Mirabeau did not long enjoy a popularity of which he believed himself so secure. This

sitting was his last; he ended in a few days a life worn out by passion and toil. His death was a public calamity; all Paris assisted at his funeral. France was in mourning; and his remains were deposited in the burial-ground which was thenceforth consecrated to the GREAT MEN IN THE NAME OF A GRATEFUL COUNTRY. He had no successor in power and popularity, and for a long time the eyes of the assembly, in all difficult discussions, were directed to the seat from which he had been used to issue that sovereign word which was to terminate their debates. Mirabeau, after having aided this revolution by his audacity in its time of peril, by his powerful intellect since its victory, died perhaps not unseasonably for his fame. He was meditating vast designs; he wished to reinforce the throne and to consolidate the revolution, two things very difficult at such a time. It is to be feared that the royal power, if he had rendered it independent, would have subdued the revolution, or if he had failed, that the revolution would have abolished the royal power. Perhaps it is impossible to adapt an ancient power to a new order of things; perhaps it is necessary

that a revolution should be prolonged in order to become legitimate, and that the throne in recovering itself should acquire the novelty of other institutions.

From the 5th and 6th October 1789, to the month of April 1791, the national assembly completed the re-organization of France; the court abandoned itself to petty intrigues and projects of escape; the privileged classes sought new means of power, those which they formerly possessed having been successively taken away. They seized every occasion of disorder which circumstances furnished, to restore the ancient régime by the aid of anarchy. At the opening of the parliaments, the noblesse protested against the "committee of vacations;" when the provinces were abolished, it protested against the orders; when the departments were formed, it tried new elections; when the old writs expired, it required the dissolution of the assembly; when the new military code was decreed, it provoked the defection of the soldiers; finally, all these means of opposition failing to effect its designs, it emigrated, in order to excite Europe against the revolution. On the other hand, the clergy, discontented

by the loss of their property still more than by the ecclesiastical constitution, wished to destroy the new order by insurrections, and to produce insurrections by a schism. Thus it was that, during this epoch, the parties separated more and more, and that the two classes, the enemies of the revolution, prepared the elements of civil and of foreign war.

CHAPTER IV.

Politics of Europe before the French revolution.—The system of alliance adopted by the different states.—General coalition against the revolution; motives of each power.—Declaration of Mantua.—Flight to Varennes; arrest of the king; his suspension.—The republican party, for the first time, separates itself from the constitutional-monarchy party.—This last re-establishes the king.—Declaration of Pilnitz.—The king accepts the constitution; end of the constituent assembly; opinion upon it.

The French revolution changed the politics of Europe; it terminated the struggle of kings with each other, and began that of kings with the people. This last would not have occurred so soon, had the sovereigns themselves not provoked it. They wished to put down the revolution, and they extended it; for in the contest it was sure to be triumphant. Europe then arrived at the end of the political system which had governed it. The existence of the different states, after having been in everything internal under the feudal govern-

ment, was now become in everything external under the monarchical government. The first epoch had terminated about the same time for all the great nations of Europe. Then, the kings who had been so long at war with their vassals because they were in contact with them, met on the borders of their own states, and warred against each other. As no domination could become universal, neither that of Charles V nor that of Louis XIV, the weaker states always leaguing against the more powerful; after various vicissitudes of superiority and alliance, a species of European equilibrium was established. It will not be useless to know what was its condition before the revolution, that we may better appreciate the events that followed.

Austria, England, and France, were the three great powers of Europe. Interest leagued together the two first against the third. Austria dreaded France in the Belgic provinces, England feared her on the sea. The rivalry of power or commerce brought them frequently into contest; they endeavoured to humble or despoil each other. Spain, since its throne had been occupied by a prince of the house of Bourbon, had been

allied with France against England. This was indeed a decayed power; exiled into the corner of the continent, depressed under the system of Philip II, deprived by the family compact of the only enemy which could preserve it in a state of wholesome vigilance, it had preserved on the sea only a remnant of its former superiority. But France had other allies on all the quarters of Austria; in the north Sweden, in the east Poland and the Porte, in the south the Germanic circles, in the west Prussia, and in Italy the kingdom of Naples. These powers, dreading the encroachments of Austria, were the natural allies of France. Piedmont, placed between the two, was sometimes for the one, sometimes for the other; the cabinet of Turin resembled an adventurer, who lets out his services according to circumstances. Holland was allied to England or France, as the party of the stadtholder or that of the people prevailed in the republic. The Swiss were neutral.

Two powers had sprung up in the north, of which the one, Prussia, entering into this equilibrium, deranged it by the preponderance it had acquired, and of which the other, Russia, was on account of its recent establish-

ment entirely out of the European relations. Prussia had been changed from a simple electorate to a kingdom by Frederic William, who had given it an army, and by his son Frederick the Great, whose talents had so greatly aggrandized its power. Russia, placed in the third line, began to overflow upon Europe and to derange its equilibrium. It had invaded Poland, it menaced the Porte, and, as its only means of action were conquest, it meditated also the occupation of Turkey.

Such was the state of Europe when the French revolution began. The potentates, who hitherto had no enemy but themselves, suddenly encountered in this event a common antagonist. The ancient relations of war or alliance, already deranged during the seven years' war, then ceased entirely: Sweden reunited itself to Russia, and Prussia to Austria. There were only kings on one side and a people on the other, until the latter were joined by those whom its example or the faults of the princes gave it for auxiliaries. A general coalition was soon formed against the French revolution: Austria entered it in the hope of aggrandizement; England, to

avenge herself for the American war; Prussia, to strengthen absolute power which was menaced, and to find employment for her army; the circles of Germany to regain for some of their members the feudal rights of which the abolition of the feudal régime had deprived them in Alsace; the king of Sweden, who was created the champion of arbitrary power, that he might re-establish it in France as he had already done in his own country; Russia, that she might effect without trouble the partition of Poland, while Europe was occupied elsewhere; finally, all the sovereigns of the house of Bourbon, from regard to their own power or from family attachments. The emigrants encouraged them in these projects, and incited them to the invasion. According to them, France was without an army, or at least without leaders, without money, abandoned to disorder, weary of the assembly, attached to the ancient régime, and without either means or desire to defend itself. They came in numbers to take part in this easy campaign, and they formed themselves into an organised corps, under the prince of Condé at Worms, and under the count d'Artois at Coblentz.

The count d'Artois especially accelerated the determinations of the cabinets; the emperor Leopold was in Italy; he passed over to him, accompanied by Calonne, who was his minister, and the count Alphonse de Durfort, who had been his agent at the court of the Tuileries, and who had reported to him the authority of the king that he should treat with Leopold. The conference was held at Mantua, and the count de Durfort went to Louis XVI to carry, in the name of the emperor, a secret declaration, by which the approaching aid of the coalition was announced to him. Austria was to march thirty-five thousand men upon the frontier of Flanders, the circles fifteen thousand upon Alsace, the Swiss fifteen thousand upon the frontier of the Lyonese, the king of Sardinia fifteen thousand upon that of Dauphiny. Spain was to increase its army of Catalonia to twenty thousand; Prussia was well disposed toward the coalition; the king of England was to make a part of it as elector of Hanover. All these troops were to be put in motion at the same time, about the end of July. The house of Bourbon were then to make a protest, the

powers to publish a manifesto; but up to that moment it was important to keep this design secret, to avoid all partial insurrection, and not to make any attempt at escape. Such were the contents of this famous declaration of Mantua, of the 20th May 1791.

Louis XVI, whether he was unwilling to place himself at the mercy of foreigners, or whether he dreaded the ascendant which the count d'Artois, if he should return at the head of a victorious emigration, would take in the government which he would have established, chose rather to restore the monarchy by his own efforts. He had in general Bouillé a partisan devoted and active, who equally condemned the emigration and the assembly, and who promised him a refuge and a support in his army. For some time a secret correspondence had been carried on between him and the king; Bouillé prepared everything for his reception. Under the pretext of a movement of the enemy's troops on the frontier, he established a camp at Montmédy; he placed detachments upon the route the king was to follow, to serve as an escort; and, as he must have a motive for

these dispositions, he pretended that they were for protecting the military chest destined for the payment of the army.

The royal family, on its part, kept all the preparations for departure in profound secrecy; few persons were acquainted with them, no circumstance betrayed them. Louis XVI and his queen, on the contrary, did everything to remove suspicion, and the 20th June, in the night, at the moment fixed for departure, they quitted the château, one by one, in disguise. They escaped the vigilance of the guards and met each other upon the boulevard, where a carriage was waiting for them, and instantly started on the road for Châlons and Montmédy.

In the morning, at the news of this escape, Paris was seized with stupor; presently indignation followed, groups of people began to form, and the tumult went on increasing. Those who had not prevented the flight were accused of having favoured it; distrust spared neither La Fayette nor Bailly. They saw in this event the invasion of France, the triumph of the emigration, the return of the ancient régime, or rather a long civil war. But the discretion of the assembly soon restored

calmness and security to the public mind. It took all the measures necessary to meet an emergency so pressing. A meeting being instantly held, it summoned to its bar the ministers and the authorities; calmed the people by a proclamation; took precautions to maintain the public tranquillity; assumed the executive power; charged the minister of foreign affairs, Montmorin, to make known to the powers of Europe its pacific intentions; sent commissaries to the troops, to assure itself of their fidelity, and to receive their oath no longer in the name of the king, but in its own. Finally, it issued orders to the departments for the arrest of all who should be leaving the realm. "Thus in less than four hours," said the marquis de Ferrères, "the assembly saw itself invested with all the powers: the government went on, the public tranquillity experienced not the smallest shock, and Paris and France learned by this experience, so dangerous to royalty, that in almost all cases the monarch is a stranger to the government which is administered in his name."

Meanwhile Louis XVI and his queen were arriving at the termination of their journey.

The success of the first part of the journey, the distance from Paris, rendered the king less reserved and more confident; he had the imprudence to shew himself, and was recognised and arrested at Varennes. In an instant, all the national guards were on foot, the officers of the detachments posted by Bouillé, wished in vain to deliver the king, the dragoons and the hussars feared or refused to second them. Bouillé, apprised of this fatal accident, hastened thither himself at the head of a regiment of cavalry. But it was too late; when he arrived at Varennes the king had left it several hours, his squadrons were fatigued and refused to proceed any farther, the national guards were everywhere in arms, and after the bad success of his enterprise, he had no alternative but to quit the army and France.

The assembly, on learning the arrest of the king, sent as commissaries to be in attendance on his person three of its members, Pétion, Latour-Maubourg, and Barnave; they joined the royal family at Epernay, and returned with it. It was during this journey that Barnave, touched by the good sense of Louis XVI, the attentive and conciliating manners of Marie Antoinette, and the humiliated con-

dition of all this royal family, testified for his sovereign the most lively interest, and gave him from that day his counsel and his support. This assemblage, on arriving at Paris, traversed an immense multitude, which raised no cry of approbation or discontent, but observed a long reproachful silence.

The king was provisionally suspended; a guard was appointed for him as well as the queen; commissaries were nominated to interrogate him. All parties were in commotion: some wished to maintain him on his throne in spite of his attempted flight; others pretended that he had abdicated, by condemning, in a manifesto addressed to the French on his departure, both the revolution and the acts that emanated from him during this epoch, which he had called a period of captivity.

The republican party now began to appear. Hitherto it had been dependent or concealed, because it had had no substantive existence, or no pretext for manifesting itself. The struggle which had begun at first between the assembly and the court, then between the constitutionalists and the aristocrats, and lastly between the constitutionalists themselves, now commenced between the constitutionalists and the repub-

licans. Such is in times of revolution the inevitable march of events. The partisans of the order of things newly established then united themselves, renouncing the differences which were not without inconvenience even when the assembly was all-powerful, and which became perilous, at the moment when the emigration threatened it on one side, and the multitude on the other. Mirabeau was no more; the centre upon which this great man relied, and which constituted the lea ambitious portion of the assembly and the most attached to principles, might, in uniting under the Lameths, establish Louis XVI and the constitutional assembly, and oppose itself to the excesses of the people.

This alliance was effected: the Lameths had a secret understanding with d'André and the principal members of the centre, conferred with the court, and opened the club of Feuillants, to oppose to that of the Jacobins. The Jacobins could not be without leaders; they had combated under Mirabeau against Mounier, under the Lameths against Mirabeau, under Pétion and Robespierre they fought against the Lameths. The party that wished a second revolution had constantly supported the extreme partisans of the revolution already ac-

complished, because it was thus hastening the struggle they wished for, and the victory they anticipated. At this epoch, from being subordinate it become independent; it struggled no longer for others, and the opinions of others, but for itself and under its own banner. The court, by its multiplied faults, by its imprudent machinations, and, in the last place, by the flight of the monarch, had given it an opportunity to avow its objects, and the Lameths in abandoning it had left it to its true leaders.

The Lameths experienced in their turn the reproaches of the multitude, which saw only their alliance with the court, without examining its conditions. But supported by all the constitutionalists, they were the strongest party in the assembly, and it was important to them to re-establish the king as soon as possible, in order to put an end to a dangerous controversy; for the republican party were authorised to demand the forfeiture of the throne so long as the suspension should continue. The commissaries charged with interrogating Louis XVI dictated to him themselves a declaration, which they presented in his name to the assembly, and which soothed the irritation excited by his flight. The reporter declared, in the name of the seven com-

mittees charged with the examination of this great question, that there were no grounds for placing Louis XVI in judgment, nor to pronounce the forfeiture against him. The discussion which followed this report was long and animated; the efforts of the republican party, in spite of their obstinacy, failed. The greater part of their orators spoke; they wanted a deposition, or a regency which was an approximation to it. Barnave, after having combated all their suggestions, ended his harangue in these remarkable words: "Regenerators of the empire, pursue your course without deviation. You have shown that you had the courage to destroy the abuses of power, you have shown that you could replace them by wise and happy institutions; prove that you have the sagacity to protect and maintain them. The nation is about to exhibit a grand proof of force and courage; it has solemnly produced, and by a spontaneous movement, everything which it can oppose to the attacks with which we are menaced. Continue the same precautions, that our limits, our frontiers, may be powerfully defended. But, at the moment we are manifesting our power, let us also prove our moderation; let us offer

peace to the world, disquieted by events which are passing among us; let us present an occasion of triumph to those who in foreign lands have taken an interest in our revolution! They cry out to us from all places: You have been powerful; be wise, be moderate; that will be the crown of your glory; it is thus that you will show that in all varieties of circumstances, you know how to employ talents, various means, and all the virtues."

The assembly agreed in the sentiments of Barnave. But, in order to calm the people, and to provide for the future security of France, it decreed that the king should *ipso facto* abdicate the crown, if he retracted his oath to the constitution after having taken it, if he should put himself at the head of an army to make war on the nation, or should suffer any one to do it in his name; that then, becoming a simple citizen again, he should cease to be inviolable, and be subject to accusation for acts subsequent to his abdication.

The day that this decree was adopted by the people, the leaders of the republican party excited the multitude to resistance. But the place of the sittings was surrounded by the national guard, and the assembly

could neither be invaded nor intimidated. The agitators, unable to prevent the decree, roused the people against it. They drew up a petition, in which they denied the competency of the assembly, appealed from it to the sovereignty of the people, considered Louis XVI as a private citizen, since he had fled, and demanded a substitute for him. This petition, drawn up by Brissot, author of the *Patriote Français*, and president of the committee of investigation of the city of Paris, was carried to the Champ-de-Mars, and placed upon the altar of the country: an immense multitude came to sign it. The assembly apprised of this, summoned the municipality to its bar, and enjoined it to watch over the public tranquillity. La Fayette marched against this mob, and succeeded in dispersing it the first time without the effusion of blood. The municipal officers posted themselves at the Invalids; but on the same day the multitude returned in greater numbers, and with more resolute determination: Danton, and Camille-Desmoulins harangued it, even from the altar of the country. Two invalids, whom they took for spies, were massacred, and their heads placed on pikes. The insurrection be-

came alarming; La Fayette returned again to the Champ-de-Mars at the head of twelve hundred national guards. Bailly accompanied him, and caused the red flag to be unfurled; he then addressed to the multitude the summons required by law, but they refused to retire, denying his authority, and exclaiming *Down with the red flag!* and assailing the national guard with stones. La Fayette ordered his men to fire, but into the air; the multitude was not intimidated, and recommenced its attack; then La Fayette, compelled by the obstinacy of the insurgents, ordered a second discharge, but it was real and destructive. The multitude, struck with terror, fled, leaving numbers dead upon the field of Federation. The disturbance ceased, order was re-established, but blood had flowed, and the people never pardoned La Fayette or Bailly the hard necessity to which it had driven them. This was a real struggle, in which the republican party, which was neither sufficiently strong nor sufficiently supported, was defeated by the constitutional party. This attempt of the Champ-de-Mars was the prelude of the popular movements which came to a head on the 10th August.

While this was passing in the assembly and in Paris, the emigrants, whom the flight of Louis XVI had filled with hope, were seized with consternation on his arrest. Monsieur, who had escaped at the same time as his brother, and who had been more fortunate than he, arrived alone at Brussels with the powers and title of regent. The emigrants thought then no longer but of the assistance of Europe; the officers quitted their colours, two hundred and eighty-six members of the assembly protested against its decrees, in order to legitimate the invasion; Bouillé wrote a menacing letter, in the absurd hope of intimidating the assembly, and at the same time to charge himself with the sole responsibility of his escape; finally, the emperor, the king of Prussia, and the count d'Artois, met at Pilnitz, where they concluded the famous treaty of the 27th July, which prepared for the invasion of France, and which, instead of ameliorating the condition of Louis XVI, would have compromised it, if the unbending wisdom of the assembly had not pursued its designs in spite of the menaces of the multitude and those of Europe.

In the declaration of Pilnitz, the sovereigns considered the cause of Louis XVI as their

own; they required that he should be free to go wherever he pleased, that is, to join their standard; that he should be replaced on his throne; that the assembly should be dissolved; that the princes of the empire, having possessions in Alsace, should be re-established in their feudal rights. In case of refusal they menaced France with a war, in which all the powers would concur who had guaranteed the French monarchy. This declaration, far from discouraging, only irritated the assembly and the people; they demanded in what right the princes of Europe interfered in our government; in what right they gave orders to a great people, and imposed conditions upon it; and since the sovereigns appealed from them to force, they prepared themselves for resistance. The frontiers were put in a state of defence, a hundred thousand of the national guard were levied, and they waited with assurance the attacks of the enemy, well convinced that the French people would be invincible, animated by the spirit of the revolution and within their own frontiers.

Meanwhile the assembly was approaching the termination of its labours; the civil relations, the public contributions, the nature of crimes, their mode of prosecution, the

means for their amendment, and their penalties, had been as wisely regulated as the general and constitutional regulations. Equality had been introduced into inheritance, the taxes, and punishments; it remained only to unite all the constitutional decrees into one body, in order to present them for the acceptance of the king. The assembly began to be weary of its labours, and its divisions; the people themselves, who in France soon get tired of anything that continues long, desired a new national representation; the convocation of the electoral colleges was appointed for the 25th September. Unfortunately, the members of the existing assembly could not make a part of that which was to follow; they had decreed this before the flight to Varennes. On this important question, the disinterestedness of some, the rivalship of others, the projects of anarchy on the part of the aristocrats, and of domination on the part of the republicans, had hurried away the assembly. In vain Duport had said: "Since we are glutted with principles, how is it that we are not advised that stability is also a principle of government? Shall we expose the French nation, whose temper is fickle

and headstrong, to a new revolution, every two years, in laws and opinions?" This was what the privileged class and the Jacobins wished, though with different objects. In all similar questions the assembly either erred or was overcome. When it debated concerning the ministry, it decided, contrary to the opinion of Mirabeau, that no deputy could be a minister; when it debated on the re-election, the assembly decided against its own members that they could not be re-elected; it was in the same spirit that it interdicted them from accepting for four years any appointment conferred by the prince. This mania of disinterestedness went so far as to induce La Fayette to lay down the command of the national guard, and Bailly the mayoralty. Thus this remarkable epoch ended entirely with the constituent assembly, and nothing remained of it under the legislative.

The collection of the constitutional decrees into a single body suggested the idea of revising them; but this attempt at revision excited extreme discontent, and ended in almost nothing; it would not do by an after-stroke to render the constitution more aristo-

cratic, from a fear lest the people wished to make it more popular. In order to check the sovereignty of the nation, and at the same time not to disavow it, the assembly declared that France had the right of reviewing its constitution, but that it would be prudent not to use that right for thirty years.

The constitutional act was presented to the king by sixty deputies; the suspension was removed: Louis XVI resumed the exercise of his power, and the guard which the law had given him was under his command. Restored to his freedom, the constitution was submitted to him. After several days examination: "I accept the constitution," he wrote to the assembly; "I pledge myself to maintain it from every danger within, to defend it against every attack from without, and to procure it to be executed by every means which it puts in my power. I declare that, instructed by the adherence which the great majority of the people gives to the constitution, I renounce at the conclusion the objections I had made during its progress; and that being responsible only to the nation, no other, when I thus renounce them, has the right to make any complaint."

This letter excited the most vivid applause. La Fayette demanded and obtained a decree for an amnesty in favour of all who had been prosecuted for the departure of the king, or for offences relative to the revolution. On the following morning the king came in person to accept the constitution in the assembly; the mob followed him with its acclamations; he was received with enthusiasm by the deputies and the tribunes, and this day he obtained anew the confidence and the affection of the people. Finally, the 29th September was appointed for the dissolution of the assembly: the king was present at its sittings: his speech was frequently interrupted with plaudits; and when he said, "For you, gentlemen, who in a long and laborious career have manifested an indefatigable zeal, there still remains a duty to fulfil, when you shall have dispersed over the surface of this empire; it is to explain to your fellow-citizens the true meaning of the laws you have made for them, to recal to them those who disavow them, to purify, to unite all opinions by the example you will give them of the love of order and of submission to the laws,"—"Yes, yes!" re-echoed with

one voice from all the deputies.—"I depend on it that you will be the interpreters of my sentiments to your fellow-citizens."—"Yes, yes!"—"Tell it faithfully to all, that the king will always be their first and most faithful friend; that he has need of being loved by them; that he knows how to be happy only with them and by them; the hope of contributing to their prosperity will sustain my courage, as the satisfaction of having succeeded will be my most sweet reward."—"It is the harangue of a Henry IV," said a voice; and Louis departed in the midst of the most brilliant testimonies of affection.

Thouret arose, and with a powerful voice addressing himself to the people; "The constituent assembly," he said, "declares that its mission is accomplished, and that it terminates at this moment its sittings." Thus ended this first and glorious assembly of the nation; it was courageous, enlightened, just, and had only one passion, that of the law. It accomplished in two years, by its efforts and by an unwearied perseverance, the greatest revolution which a single generation of mankind ever witnessed. In the midst of its labours it put down despotism and an-

archy, by defeating the intrigues of the aristocracy and maintaining the subordination of the people. Its single error was in not confiding the conduct of the revolution to those who had made it; it divested itself of power like those legislators of antiquity, who exiled themselves from their country after having given it a constitution. A new assembly did not apply itself to the consolidation of the work of its predecessor, and the revolution which required only to be completed was recommenced.

The constitution of 1791 was founded on principles which suited the ideas and the situations of France; this constitution was the work of the middle class, at that time the most powerful; for, as we know, the prevailing force is always that which seizes upon the institutions: but when it belongs to an individual, it is despotism; to certain persons, it is a privilege; to all, it is right: this last state is the term of society as it is its origin. France had finally arrived at it, after having passed through the feudal system, which was the aristocratic institution, and through absolute power, which was the monarchic institution. Equality was consecrated among

the citizens, and delegation was recognised as the constitutional mode of exercising their power: such were, under the new régime, the condition of the people and the form of the government.

In this constitution the people were the source of all power, but they exercised none; they had only the primary election, and its members were chosen by men taken from the most intelligent portion of the community. This composed the assembly, the tribunals, the administrations, the municipalities, the militias, and possessed thus all the force and all the powers of the state. It was therefore alone proper to exercise them, since it alone had the intelligence necessary for the conduct of the government. The people were not yet sufficiently advanced to take a share of the power; it was only by accident and transiently that power fell into their hands; they received the civic education, and were accustomed to government in the primary assemblies, according to the true object of society, which is not to give its advantage as a patrimony to a class, but to make all participate in them as soon as they are capable of acquiring them. This was the principal cha-

racter of the revolution of 1791; in proportion as any one became fit to possess the right, he was admitted to it; the constitution enlarged its frame with the progress of civilization, which every day called a greater number of men to the administration of the state. It is thus that it established the true equality, of which the real character is admissibility, as that of inequality is exclusion. In rendering power moveable by election, it made a public magistracy of it: while aristocratic privilege, by rendering it hereditary, made it a private property.

The constitution of 1791 established homogeneous powers, which reciprocally corresponded, without interfering with each other; nevertheless, it must be admitted that the royal authority was too subordinate to the popular power. It never happens otherwise; sovereignty, from whatever quarter it comes, when it limits itself, always establishes but a feeble counterpoise. A constituent assembly weakens the royal power; a legislating king restrains the prerogatives of an assembly.

This constitution was, nevertheless, less democratic than of the United States, which has been found practicable, notwithstanding the

extent of the territory, which proves that it is not the form of institutions, but rather the assent which they obtain, or the disagreement they excite, which permits or prevents their establishment. In a new country, after a revolution of independance, as in America, every constitution is possible; there is only one hostile party, the mother country, and when that is vanquished the struggle ceases, because defeat is followed by expulsion. It is not the same with social revolutions, among a people which has had a long existence. Changes attack interests, interests form parties, parties enter on a struggle; and the more victory spreads, the more resentments increase: this happened to France. The work of the assembly perished less from its defects than from the blows of faction. Placed between the aristocracy and the multitude, it was attacked by one party and usurped by the other. This latter would not have become sovereign, if civil war and the foreign coalition had not required its intervention and its aid. To defend the country, it was necessary that the government should be in its hands: then it made its revolution, as the middle class had done

before. It had its 16th July, which was the 10th August; its constituent, which was the convention; its government, which was the committee of public safety; but, as we shall see, without the emigration, it never would have been master of the republic.

NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

CHAPTER V.

First interviews of the legislative assembly with the king.—State of parties.—The Feuillants rely on the support of the middle classes, the Girondists on that of the people.—The emigration and the refractory clergy; decree against them; the king's *veto*.—Declarations of war.—The Girondist ministry; Dumouriez and Roland.—Declaration of war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia.—Disaster of our armies; order for a camp of reserve of 20,000 men below Paris: decree of banishment against the priests who had not taken the oaths.—The king's *veto*: fall of the Girondist ministry.—Insurrectionary petition of the 20th June in favour of the decrees, and demanding the return of the ministers to their places.—Last efforts of the constitutional party.—The duke of Brunswick's manifesto.—Events of the 10th August.—Military insurrection of La Fayette against the conspirators of the 10th August; its failure.—Division of the assembly and of the new commune.—Danton.—Invasion of the Prussians.—Massacres of the 2nd September.—Campaign of the Argonne.—Causes of the events that occured under the legislative.

THE new assembly commenced its sittings on the first October 1791, and at once de-

clared itself the *national legislative assembly* From the moment of its opening, it had occasion to shew its attachment to the actual order of things, as well as its respect for the founders of French liberty. The book of the constitution was solemnly presented to the new body by the archivist Camus, at the head of twelve of the oldest members of the national representation. The assembly stood uncovered while its members received the constitutional act, and vowed by its contents, amidst the applauses of the crowd which occupied the tribunes, to live freemen or to die. The assembly next voted thanks to the members of the constituent assembly, and forthwith commenced its labours.

But its first relations with the king did not possess the same character of union or confidence. The court which undoubtedly hoped to regain under the legislative, the ascendancy which it had lost under the constituent assembly, was not sufficiently cautious in the management of a popular assembly which was restless and jealous of its rights, and which passed at that time for the highest in the state. The assembly sent a deputation of sixty members to the king, to announce

that it was constituted. The king did not receive them in person, but directed the minister of justice to say, that he could not give them an audience till the following day at noon. A dismissal so unceremonious as this, and the communication between the sovereign and the national representatives thus rendered indirect by the intervention of a minister, deeply wounded the deputation. Accordingly, when it was ushered into the presence of Louis XVI, Ducastel, who was president of the deputation, addressed him thus laconically: "Sire, the national legislative assembly is definitely constituted, and it has appointed us to inform you of this." Louis XVI replied in a still colder tone, "I cannot attend your assembly before Friday." This conduct of the court was very injudicious, and ill calculated to conciliate towards it the affection of the popular party.

The assembly approved of the manner in which the president of the deputation had expressed himself, and very speedily allowed itself an act of reprisal. The ceremonial with which the king was to be received by the assembly was founded upon preceding regulations. An arm-chair after the fashion of a throne was reserved for him: he was ad-

dressed by the titles of *sire* and *majesty*, and the deputies, who stood up uncovered on his entrance, sat down, put on their hats, and rose up again, following with deference all the movements of the king. Some violent and turbulent spirits thought these condescensions unworthy of a sovereign assembly. The deputy Grangeneuve moved that the words *sire* and *majesty* should be replaced by the higher and more constitutional title of "king of the French." Couthon went even farther, and proposed to give the king a simple arm-chair, exactly similar to that of the president. These demands excited some slight signs of disapprobation on the part of several members, but the majority eagerly joined in them. "I trust," said Guadet, "that the French nation will always regard with far higher veneration, the simple arm-chair on which sits the president of the representatives of the people, than the gilded seat which supports the chief of the executive power. I shall say nothing, gentlemen, of the titles of *sire* and *majesty*. I am only astonished that the national assembly should never have hesitated as to whether it should preserve them. The word *sire* signifies *seigneur:* it belonged to the feudal

government, which no longer exists. As to that of *majesty*, it ought only to be employed in speaking of God or of the people."

The previous question was called for, but feebly: these different propositions were put to the vote, and adopted by a considerable majority. Nevertheless as such a decree appeared hostile, the constitutional opinion was against it, and blamed so rigorous an application of its principles. The day following, those who had called for the previous question, demanded the abandonment of the resolutions of the previous sitting. A report spread, at the same time, that the king would refuse to be present at any meeting of the assembly, if the decree were kept in force, and it was accordingly annulled. These little disputes between two powers who mutually dreaded the usurpations, the pride, and the ill-will of each other, ended here for the present. All recollection of them was entirely effaced by the appearance of Louis XVI among the legislative body, by whom he was received with the highest respect and the most lively enthusiasm.

His discourse chiefly tended to the pacification of parties in general: he pointed out

to the assembly the points which demanded its attention; the finances, the civil laws, commerce, industry, and the consolidation of the new form of government; he promised to employ all his endeavours to recall the army to order and discipline, to put the realm in a state of defence, and to give such favourable ideas of the French revolution, as would tend to conciliate the favourable opinion of Europe. He added the following words which were loudly applauded: "Gentlemen, in order that your important labours and your zeal should produce all the good which may be naturally expected of them, there ought ever to exist between the legislative body and the monarch a constant harmony and an unalterable confidence. The enemies of our common repose will be but too ready to seek to disunite us: but let the love of our country bind us together, and the interest of the public render us inseparable; thus will the power of the nation be enabled to exert itself without opposition; the administration be no longer tormented by visionary terrors; the property and the belief of all shall be equally protected, and none shall have any longer a pretext for deserting a land where the laws shall be in force, and

where the rights of all shall be respected." Unfortunately there were two classes separate from the revolution, which refused to combine with it, and whose efforts in the interior of France, and in Europe generally, prevented the fulfilment of these words of peace and wisdom. Wherever there are any parties displaced in a state, there must always be a struggle: and they force their opponents to adopt against them measures of hostility. Thus the internal troubles excited by the priests who had not taken the oaths, the warlike meeting of the emigrants, and the preparations for the coalition, soon carried the legislative farther than the constitution allowed, or than the assembly itself contemplated.

The composition of this assembly was wholly popular. All ideas having been turned to the revolution, neither the court, the nobles, nor the clergy, exercised any influence over the elections. There were not in that assembly, as in the preceding, any partisans of absolute power or peculiar privileges. The two factions of the left who had separated towards the conclusion of the constituent, still formed part of the assembly, but they were greatly

diminished both in numbers and in power. The popular minority of the other assembly became the majority of this. The regulation which forbade the election of constituents already chosen, the necessity which they were under of selecting their deputies from among those who had rendered themselves most remarkable by their conduct and opinions, and above all the active influence of the clubs, led to this result. Opinions and parties soon discovered themselves. There were a right, a centre, and a left as in the constituent, but possessing a character altogether different.

The right, which was composed of firm and decided constitutionals, formed the Feuillant party. Its principal organs were Dumas, Ramond, Vaublanc, Beugnot, &c. It had some relations with the court through Barnave, Duport, and Alexander Lameth, who were its former leaders; but their counsels were rarely followed by Louis XVI, who abandoned himself with more confidence to guidance of those who were about him. It relied for support without doors on the club of the Feuillants, and on the middle classes. The national guard, the army, the directory of the department, and in general, all the consti-

tuted authorities, were favourable to this faction. But it was no longer the ruling party in the assembly, and it speedily lost a post equally as essential, that of the municipality, which was occupied by the antagonists of the left.

These formed the party called the Girondists, who served in the revolution as a connecting link between the middling and the lower classes. This party at that time entertained no levelling projects: but it was inclined to support the revolution by all means, in distinction to the constitutionals, who proposed to support it only according to law. At the head of this faction were the brilliant orators of the department of the Gironde, from which it drew its name, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, and the provençal Isnard whose eloquence was still more glowing than theirs. Its principal leader was Brissot, who had been a member of the municipality of Paris during the preceding session, and who now belonged to the assembly. The opinions of Brissot who wished for a complete reform, his great activity of mind, which exerted itself by turns in the journal called The Patriot, in the rostrum of the assembly, and at the club of the Jacobins,

and his accurate and extensive acquaintance with the situation of foreign powers, combined to give him great influence at a moment when France was divided between the strife of parties, and a war against Europe. Condorcet's influence was of another description: he owed his ascendancy to the profoundness of his views and his strong powers of reason, which raised him to something like the rank of Sièyes in this second revolutionary generation. Pétion, the character of whose mind was calm and decided, was the man of action of the party. His tranquil air, his flowing eloquence, and his acquaintance with the moods of the people, speedily raised him to the municipal magistracy, which Bailly had exercised on behalf of the middling classes.

The left side had in the assembly the heads of a faction which went beyond the main party in opinion, of which the members, such as Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin, were to the Girondists, what Pétion, Buzot, and Robespierre, had been to the left side of the constituent assembly. This was the commencement of the democratic faction, out of doors, which served as auxiliaries to the Girondists, and regulated the affiliation of the clubs and of the

multitude. Robespierre in the society of Jacobins, where he established his empire after quitting the assembly; Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine at the Cordeliers, where they had founded a club of reformers still more violent than the Jacobins, composed of persons belonging to the trading classes; together with the brewer Santerre, in the faubourgs, where the popular force resided, were the real chiefs of that faction, which trusted for its support to an entire class of the population, and aspired to the foundation of a government of its own. But this party only fought as it were under orders, and it required very pressing circumstances to have brought about its triumph. This was the real party of the Champ-de-Mars.

The centre of the legislative was sincerely attached to the new order of things. It held, except in a few immaterial points, the same opinions, and had the same wish for conciliatory measures, as the centre of the constituent assembly; but its power was very different: it was no longer at the head of a class, by means of which it possessed the power of overruling in a wise and firm manner all the violent and turbulent parties existing. The dangers

which threatened the public, by awakening a sense of the necessity of relying for support upon violent opinions within, and on parties without, completely annulled the centre. It soon became the appanage of the strongest faction, as happens in the case of all moderate parties, and sunk under the influence of the left.

The situation of the assembly was a very difficult one; for that which preceded it had left behind parties which it had evidently been unable to pacify. In the very commencement of its sittings, it found itself compelled to attend to these; and its attention was to be confined to combating them. The emigration was making alarming progress; the king's two brothers, the prince of Condé and the duke of Bourbon, had protested against the acceptance of the act of the constitution by Louis XVI, in other words, against the sole means of conciliation; they asserted that the king had not the power of alienating the rights of the ancient monarchy; and their protest, which soon circulated through France, produced a great effect on their partisans. The officers left the army, the nobles abandoned their chateaux, and whole companies deserted, to enrol themselves in the regiments on the frontiers.

Distaffs were sent to those who remained behind; and those who refused to emigrate were threatened with being degraded to the class of the people, when the nobility should return victorious. What was styled *External France* was formed in the Austrian Low Countries, and in the neighbouring electorates. The counter-revolution was openly prepared at Brussels, at Worms, and at Coblentz, not only under the protection of the foreign courts, but even with their assistance. The emigrant ambassadors were received, while those of the existing French government were either sent home, or ill received, or in some instances imprisoned, as in the case of M. Duverger; and French travellers or merchants suspected of patriotism, or admiration of the revolution, were subjected to the distrust of all Europe. Several powers had declared themselves openly: among these were Sweden, Russia, and Spain, which last was then governed by the marquis of Blanca-Florida, who was entirely devoted to the cause of the emigrants. At the same time Prussia kept up her army, in expectation of a war; the line of Sardinian and Spanish troops assembled on the French frontiers, was increased by supplies from the

Alps and the Pyrenees; and Gustavus, the intended chief of the coalition, was collecting a Swedish army.

The refractory ecclesiastics lost no opportunity of exciting in the country a diversion which might prove useful to the emigrants. "The priests, and more especially the bishops," says the marquis of Ferrières, "employed all the resources of fanaticism to rouse the lower classes, both in town and country, against the civil constitution of the clergy." The bishops commanded the priests no longer to celebrate divine service in the same churches with the constitutional clergy, lest the people should confound the two modes of worship, and the two orders of priesthood. "Independently," he adds, "of the circular letters addressed to the curates, instructions designed for the people were distributed through the country. In these it was stated, that it was not allowable for any one to receive the sacrament from the hands of the constitutional priests, who were designated as intruders; that all who participated in them became guilty, by their mere presence, of a mortal sin; that those who were married by the intruders should not be regarded as

married; that they would draw down a curse on themselves and on their children; that no one was to hold communication with them, nor with those who had separated themselves from the church; that the municipal officers who installed them became apostates like themselves; that even at the moment of installation, the ringers of the bells and the sacristans were to abandon their duty.—These fanatical addresses produced the effect expected by the bishops, and religious troubles broke out in all quarters."

The revolt took place chiefly in the departments of Calvados, of Gévaudan, and of La Vendée. These provinces were not much disposed to welcome the revolution, because the middling and enlightened class was far from numerous there, and the populace was firmly attached to the clergy and nobility, upon whom they depended. The Girondists, in alarm, were disposed to adopt vigorous measures against the emigration and the dissident clergy who attacked the established order of things. Brissot proposed to stop the emigration by renouncing the system of mildness and forbearance which had till then been followed with regard to it. He divided

the emigrants into three classes: 1st, the principal chiefs, at the head of whom he placed the king's two brothers; 2nd, the functionaries who abandoned their places and their country, and endeavoured to seduce their colleagues; and 3rd, private individuals, who through terror of their lives, hatred of the revolution, or other motives, quitted their country, without, however, taking up arms against her. He demanded, that laws of the severest kind should be enforced against the two first classes, and insisted that it would be the very reverse of good policy to shew itself indulgent towards the latter. As for the unconsecrated and seditious ecclesiastics, several Girondists were disposed to be content with subjecting them to a stricter system of scrutiny; but others pretended that there was but one sure measure to be adopted with regard to them, and that the only means of crushing the spirit of sedition was to banish them from the realm. "All methods of conciliation," said the impetuous Isnard, "are now useless: I ask, what has been hitherto the result of so many reiterated pardons? Your enemies have only augmented their boldness in proportion to your in-

dulgence; and they will never cease to injure you until they have no longer the means. They must either be victors or vanquished: to this it must come at last; and any man who cannot see this great truth, I hold to be politically blind."

The constitutionals were opposed to all these measures; they did not attempt to deny the danger, but they regarded such laws as arbitrary. They said, that before all things the constitution ought to be respected, and that measures of precaution were all that were necessary at that period; that it was sufficient to protect the nation against the emigrants; and that, in order to punish the dissident priests, some real conspiracies ought to be discovered on their part. They recommended that the law should be kept inviolate, even towards the enemy, lest once engaged in that career, it might be impossible to stop; and lest the revolution should be annihilated, like the old government, by its own unjust deeds. But the assembly, judging the safety of the state more important than a strict observance of the law, seeing danger in hesitation, and being besides led on by feelings which produce prompt steps, was

not stayed by these considerations. On the 30th October, it adopted by general consent a decree relative to the king's eldest brother, Louis Stanislaus Xavier. This prince was required, in the terms of the constitution, to return to France within two months; if not, at the expiration of the delay granted him, he was declared to be deprived of his rights to the regency: but there was not the same unanimity relative to the decrees against the emigrants and the priests. On the 9th November, the assembly decided that all Frenchmen assembled beyond the frontiers were regarded as suspected of conspiracy against their country; that if, on the the 1st January 1792, they were still met in a body, they should be treated as conspirators, become liable to the punishment of death, and that after condemnation for contumacy, the revenues arising from their property should be confiscated for the benefit of the nation, without, however, prejudicing the rights of their wives, their children, and their lawful creditors. On the 29th of the same month, a similar decision was made with regard to the refractory ecclesiastics, who were bound to take the oath of civism, under pain of being

deprived of their pensions, and of being declared suspected of revolt against the law. If they refused it anew, they were to be strictly watched; and if there arose any religious troubles in their communes, they were to be carried to the principal town of the department; and if they were found to have had any share in preaching disobedience, they were rendered subject to detention.

The king sanctioned the first decree respecting his brother, but put his *veto* on the two others. He had disavowed the emigration a short time before, by the steps he had publicly taken; and he had written to the emigrant princes to recall them to the realm. He had entreated them to take this step in the name of the tranquillity of France, and of the attachment and obedience which they owed to him as their brother and their king; and he said, in finishing his letter: "I shall consider myself bound to you all my life, if you will spare me the necessity of acting in opposition to you, by the invariable resolution I have taken, of maintaining all that I have said." His prudent suggestions were not followed by the desired result; but Louis XVI, though he condemned the conduct of the emigrants, was

unwilling to give his sanction to any measures taken against them: he was supported in his refusals by the constitutionals, and by the directory of the department. This kind of support proved useful to him, at a moment when he appeared in the eyes of the people an accomplice of the emigrants, when he excited the discontent of the Girondists, and separated himself from the assembly. He ought to have strenuously united himself with them, as he invoked the constitution against the emigrants in his letters, and against the revolutionists by the use of his prerogative. His situation could only become strong by subscribing with all his heart to the first revolution, and in identifying his own cause with that of the people.

But the court was not sufficiently resigned; and expected always more favourable times, which prevented it from acting with the requisite firmness, and led it to look for hope on all sides. The court continued to keep up relations with Europe, and was at times disposed to allow of foreign intervention: it intrigued with the ministers against the popular party, and made use of the Feuillants, though with much distrust, against the Girondists. Its principal resources at this period were in the

petty intrigues of Bertrand de Molleville, who was at the head of the council. He had established a *French Club*, of which he paid the members; he bought the applauses of the tribunes of the assembly, and hoped by this spurious kind of revolution, to destroy the real one. His plan was to play the parties against one another, and to annul the effects of the constitution, while literally observing its provisions.

By this system of conduct the court had the imprudence to weaken the constitutionals, whom it should have reinforced; and favoured, at their expence, the nomination of Pétion to the mayoralty. In consequence of the disinterestedness with which the preceding assembly had been seized, all those who had exercised under it any popular employments successively resigned them. La Fayette had given up the command of the national guard, and Bailly the mayoralty; the constitutional party proposed La Fayette as his successor in this first post of the state, which put the power of exciting or preventing an insurrection, and consequently Paris itself into the hands of him who occupied it. Up to this time it had belonged to the constitutionals, who by means

of it, had repressed the movement of the Champ-de-Mars. They had lost the direction of the assembly ; the command of the national guard. They lost besides the municipality. The court gave to Pétion, the Girondist candidate, all the votes of which it could dispose. " M. de la Fayette," said the queen to Bertrand de Molleville, "only wishes to be mayor of Paris in order to be afterwards mayor of the palace.—Pétion is a Jacobin and a rebublican, but he is too great a fool ever to be capable of becoming the head of a party." This nomination soon became decisive in favour of the Girondists.

The latter did not content themselves with the acquisition of the mayoralty. France could not long remain in that dangerous and provisional condition : the decrees, which justly or not, were to serve for the defence of the revolution, and which had been rejected by the king, were not replaced by any measure of government ; the ministry discovered either treacherous intentions, or an evident indifference to the state of the nation. This led the Girondists to accuse the minister for foreign affairs, Delessart, of compromising the honour and security of the state by his nego-

tiations with foreign powers, by his delays and by his ignorance; they also strongly charged Du Portail, the minister at war, and Bertrand de Molleville, minister of marine, with neglecting to put the frontiers and the coasts in a state of defence. The conduct of the electors of Trèves, of Mentz, and of the bishop of Spire, who favoured the military assemblies of the troops, excited generally, strong and deep indignation. The diplomatic committee proposed to make a declaration to the king, that the nation would see with satisfaction a requisition issued to the neighbouring princes to disperse the meetings in three weeks; and that he should assemble the force necessary to compel them to respect the rights of nations. The assembly wished, by this important step, to induce Louis XVI to take a solemn engagement, and to signify to the diet of the empire assembled at Ratisbon, as well as to all the other courts of Europe, the firm intentions of France.

Isnard ascended the tribune to support this project: "Let us," said he, "on this occasion, feel the due dignity of our mission; let us speak to the king, to his ministers, and to all Europe with the firmness which becomes us.

Let us tell our ministers that hitherto, the nation is by no means satisfied with the conduct of any of them; that henceforth they have only to choose between the gratitude of the people and the vengeance of the laws; and that by the word *responsibility*, we mean *death*. Let us tell the king, that his interest lies in defending the constitution; that he reigns only by the people, and for the people; that the nation is his sovereign, and that he is subject to the law. Let us proclaim to Europe, that the French nation, if it draw the sword, will cast away the scabbard; that it will only go to regain it crowned with the laurels of victory; that if cabinets engage kings in a war against the people, we will engage the people in a war, even to death, against kings. Let us tell her, that all the combats in which nations engage at the command of despots—[Here the speaker was interrupted by shouts of applause, and cried out]—Do not applaud! do not applaud! but respect my enthusiasm, it is that of liberty. Let us, I say, tell Europe, that all the wars in which nations engage at the command of despots, resemble the blows which two friends, instigated by a perfidious enemy, aim at each other in the dark; when the light

of day appears, they throw away their arms, they embrace, and punish him who deceived them; so if, at the moment when hostile armies are struggling with ours, the light of philosophy flash on their eyes, both nations will embrace in the sight of dethroned tyrants, of consoled earth, and satisfied heaven."

The assembly decreed, with transport and unanimity, the proposed measure, and despatched a message to the king. Vaublanc was the organ of that deputation. "Sire," said he to Louis XVI, "scarcely had the assembly cast its eyes on the situation of the realm, when it perceived that the troubles which still agitate it, have their source in the criminal attempts of the French emigrants. Their audacity is supported by the German princes, who disregard the treaties signed between them and France, and affect to forget that they owe to this empire the treaty of Westphalia, which guarantees their rights and their security. These hostile preparations, these threats of invasion, require armaments which absorb immense sums, which the nation would have poured with joy into the hands of its creditors.

"It is for you, sire, to put an end to them;

it is for you to hold, in addressing foreign powers, the language which becomes the sovereign of the French people! Tell them, that every country which continues preparations against France, must be numbered among her enemies; that we will religiously regard our oath of attempting no conquests; that we offer to live with them in brotherly neighbourhood, and to grant them the inviolable friendship of a free and powerful people; that we will respect their laws, their customs, and their constitutions; but that we require in return that ours should be respected! Tell them, lastly, that if the princes of Germany continue to countenance preparations directed against the French, the French will carry into their country, not fire and the sword, but liberty! It is for them to calculate what may be the consequence of this awakening of the nations!"

Louis XVI replied, that he would take into deep consideration the message of the assembly; and a few days afterwards, he came to announce in person his resolutions on the subject. They were agreeable to the general wish. The king declared, amidst general applause, that he would signify to the elector of Trèves, and to the other electors, that if before

the 15th January, all hostile meetings, and all hostile dispositions on the part of the refugee French should not have ceased in their states, he would regard them as enemies. He added, that he would write to the emperor, in order to engage him, as the head of the empire, to interpose his authority to avert the evils, which any longer obstinacy on the part of some members of the Germanic body might occasion. "If these declarations, gentlemen, are not attended to," added he, "it only remains for me to propose war; war, in which a people who has solemnly renounced foreign conquest, never engages without necessity; but which a free and generous nation knows how to undertake when its own security and its own honour demand it!"

The steps taken by the king, relative to the princes of the empire, were supported by military preparations. A new minister at war had replaced Du Portail. Narbonne, chosen from the party of the Feuillants, young, active, and ambitious of signalizing himself by the triumph of his party, and by his defence of the revolution, immediately marched to the frontiers. A hundred and fifty thousand men were required; the assembly voted on this occasion

twenty millions of extraordinary funds; three armies were formed under the command of Rochambeau, of Luckner, and La Fayette; and finally Monsieur, count of Provence, the count d'Artois, and the prince of Condé were accused and decreed *guilty of attempts and conspiracy against the general security of the state and the constitution.* Their properties were sequestrated; and the term which had formerly been fixed for the return of Monsieur to France, being expired, he was deprived of all right to the regency.

The elector of Trèves, who did not expect the step which was taken, engaged to disperse the meetings, and to allow them no longer to take place. All this, however, was confined to a pretence of disbanding the troops. Austria gave orders to marshal Bender to defend the elector if he were attacked, and ratified the conclusions of the diet of Ratisbon. The latter demanded the restoration of the *possessionary princes;* it refused to allow that they should be indemnified in money for the loss of their rights; and left to France the choice only of the re-establishment of feudality in Alsace, or war. These two resolutions of the cabinet of Vienna were of a very hostile nature. Her

troops marched upon our frontiers, and proved clearly that France was not to trust to her inaction. Fifty thousand men were stationed in the Low Countries; six thousand were posted in the Brisgaw, and thirty thousand were dispatched from Bohemia. This formidable army of observation could, at a moment's notice, be rendered an army of attack.

The assembly felt that there was an urgent necessity of compelling the emperor to decide. It considered the electors but as borrowed names under which he acted, and the emigrants as his instruments; for prince Kaunitz regarded as legitimate *the league of sovereigns united for the security and the honour of their crowns*. The Girondists, therefore, were desirous of anticipating this dangerous adversary, and of preventing him from having time to prepare himself. They required him to explain, before the 10th February, in a clear and precise manner, his real intentions with regard to France. They attacked, at the same time, those ministers on whom they could not count in case of war; the incapacity of Delessart, and the intrigues of Molleville, especially afforded ground for such attacks. Narbonne was the only one spared.

They were seconded by the divisions of the council, which was half aristocratical, by Bertrand de Molleville, Delessart, &c.; and half constitutional, by Narbonne and Cahier de Gerville, minister of the interior. Men so opposite in intentions and talents could never be expected to agree. Bertrand de Molleville had lively contests with Narbonne, who wished his colleagues to adopt a frank and decided tone, and to render the assembly the principal support of the throne. Narbonne failed in the struggle, and his fall produced the disorganization of this ministry. The Girondists accused Bertrand de Molleville and Delessart; the former had enough of ingenuity to defend himself; but the latter was carried before the high court of Orleans.

The king, intimidated by the violent conduct of the assembly towards the members of his council, and especially by the decree of accusation against Delessart, had no resource left but to choose his new ministers from the victorious party. An alliance with the actual rulers of the revolution was the only thing which could save at once liberty and the throne. It would restore concord to the assembly, the chief power, and the mu-

nicipality; and if their union were maintained, the Girondists would perform, with the aid of the court, what they judged, after the rupture, they could only have accomplished without it. The members of the new ministry were La Coste, for the navy; Clavière, for the finances; Duranthon, for justice; De Grave, who was soon replaced by Servan, minister at war; Dumouriez for foreign affairs; and Roland for the interior. The two latter were the most remarkable and the most important men of the council.

Dumouriez was forty-seven years of age at the commencement of the revolution; up to that time he had lived amidst intrigues, which he was too fond of employing at a period when small means ought only to have been used in aid of great ones, and not to supply their place. The first part of his political life was spent in discovering those by whom he might rise, and the second those who were able to support his elevation. A courtier before 1789, a constitutional under the first assembly, a Girondist under the second, a Jacobin under the republic, he was eminently the creature of the time. But he had all the resources of great men: an en-

terprising disposition, indefatigable activity, and prompt, accurate, and extended views; extraordinary impetuosity in action, and unbounded confidence in success: he was besides frank, ingenious, clever, bold, equally fitted for the council and the field; full of expedients, astonishing for the readiness of his invention, and knowing how to submit to the misfortune of a difficult position, until he could change it. It must be admitted, however, that these fine qualities were injured by several defects. He was rash, thoughtless, and extremely capricious, both in his opinions and his means, in consequence of his continual thirst for action; but the great fault of Dumouriez was his want of all political principle. In a period of revolution nothing is to be accomplished unless the individual is the man of a party—if a man be ambitious, he must see farther than the object he seeks to obtain—and, unless his will be stronger than that of his partisans, he will fail. It was thus with Cromwell and Bonaparte: while Dumouriez, after having been the servant of parties, believed he should conquer them all by his intrigues. He wanted the passion of his time; it is this which com-

pletes a man, and which alone can render him the governing spirit of his age.

Roland was a contrast to Dumouriez. His was a character which liberty found ready made, as if she had herself moulded it. The manners of Roland were simple, his morals severe, and his opinions tried: he loved liberty with enthusiasm, and he was equally capable of disinterestedly consecrating to her cause the whole of his existence, or of perishing for its sake without ostentation and without regret. He was a man worthy of being born in a republic, but misplaced in a revolution; he was ill-fitted for the agitations and the struggles of parties; his talents were not great; his disposition was somewhat unbending; he neither knew how to appreciate nor to manage men; and though laborious, intelligent, and active, he would have figured little without the aid of his wife. All that was wanting in him, she supplied; force and elevation of mind, ability and foresight. Madame Roland was the soul of the Girondists; she was the point round which assembled those brilliant and courageous men, to discuss the wants and the dangers of their country: it was she who roused those whom

she knew to be able in action, and directed to the tribune the efforts of those whom she knew to be eloquent.

The court named this ministry the *sans culotte ministry*. The first time that Roland appeared at the palace, with strings in his shoes and a round hat, which were against the rules of etiquette, the master of the ceremonies refused to admit him. But forced at length to allow him to pass, pointing to Roland, he thus addressed Dumouriez: "*What, sir! without buckles in his shoes!*"—"*Aye, sir, all is lost!*" replied Dumouriez with the utmost coolness. Such were still the prejudices of the court. The first measure of the new ministry was war. The situation of France was daily becoming more and more dangerous, and she had everything to fear from the evil dispositions of Europe. Leopold was dead, and that event was likely to hasten the resolutions of the cabinet of Vienna. His young successor, Francis II, it was probable would be less pacific or less prudent than he had been. Austria moreover was assembling troops, tracing camps, and appointing generals: she had violated the territory of Bâsle, and placed a garrison in Porentruy, to obtain

an entrance to the department of Doubs. There remained therefore no doubt with regard to her projects. The meetings of troops at Coblentz had recommenced in greater numbers: the cabinet of Vienna had but momentarily dispersed the emigrants scattered through the Belgian provinces, in order to prevent the invasion of that country, which it was not yet in a state to oppose; but all this was done only to save appearances, for it suffered a staff of general officers to remain at Brussels wearing the royal uniform and mounting the white cockade. The answers of prince Kaunitz to the explanations demanded were by no means satisfactory. He even refused to treat directly, and the baron of Cobentzel was charged with replying, that Austria refused to depart from the conditions she had imposed. The re-establishment of the monarchy on the basis of the royal sitting of the 23rd June, the restoration of the property of the clergy, of the lands of Alsace with all their rights to the German princes, and of Avignon and the Venaissin territory to the pope; such was the *ultimatum* of Austria. All possibility of agreement was thus at an end, and the maintenance of peace

was no longer to be expected. France was threatened with the fate which Holland had undergone, or perhaps with that of Poland: all that now remained to be decided on was, whether to wait for, or commence the war,—to profit by the enthusiasm of the people, or to suffer it to subside into coldness: the real author of a war is not he who declares it, but he who renders it necessary.

Louis XVI presented himself on the 20th of April to the assembly, accompanied by all his ministers. "I come, gentlemen," said he, "in the midst of the national assembly, on occasion of one of the most important subjects which can occupy the attention of the representatives of the nation. My minister for foreign affairs will read to you the report which he has made in my council on our political situation." Dumouriez then rose: he exposed the causes of complaint which France had against the house of Austria: the object of the conferences of Mantua, Reichenback and Pilnitz: the coalition which Austria had formed against the French revolution: her warlike preparations, which continued to assume a more formidable aspect: the undisguised protection which she accorded to bo-

dies of the emigrants: and finally, the intolerable conditions of her *ultimatum;* and after a long series of considerations, founded on the hostile conduct of the king of Hungary and Bohemia, (Francis II was not yet elected emperor) on the pressing circumstances in which the nation stood, on its formal and pronounced resolution never to suffer any attack or any outrage on its rights, and on the honour and good faith of Louis XVI, who was the depositary of the dignity and the security of France—he advised war against Austria. Louis XVI then said, with a voice somewhat tremulous with emotion: "You have just heard, gentlemen, the result of the negotiations which I have engaged in with the court of Vienna. The conclusions of that report have been sanctioned by the unanimous voice of all the members of my council, and I have myself adopted them. They are agreeable to the wishes which have been often expressed by the national assembly, and to the sentiments which have been manifested by many of my subjects from various parts of the realm: all prefer war to witnessing the dignity of the French people longer outraged, and the security of the nation threatened. It was my duty, previously to adopting this mea-

sure, to exert my utmost efforts for the maintenance of peace. I now come, in the terms of the constitution, to propose to the national assembly war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia." Several marks of applause followed the king's speech; but the solemnity of the circumstance and the weight of the decision had penetrated all the assembly with a deep and silent emotion. As soon as the king retired, the assembly determined on a meeting in the evening, in which the war was resolved on almost unanimously. Thus was begun with the chief of the confederated powers that war, which lasted a quarter of a century, which confirmed the revolution triumphantly, and which changed the whole face of Europe.

The whole of France received the news with joy. The war communicated a new excitement to the people, already so agitated. The districts, the municipalities, and popular societies, sent addresses: men were raised, voluntary contributions were offered, pikes were made, and the whole nation seemed to rise up to wait the onset of Europe, or to invade her. But enthuisasm, which in the end assures victory, does not at first supply

the want of organization. Accordingly, there were no troops at the opening of the campaign but the regular soldiers, until the new levies should have been formed. The following is the state of the French forces in these respects. The vast frontier from Dunkirk to Huningen was separated into three great divisions. On the left, from Dunkirk to Philippeville, the army of the north, consisting of about forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse, was under the command of the marshal de Rochambeau. La Fayette commanded the centre army, composed of forty-five thousand foot and seven thousand horse, and ranging from Philippeville to the lines of Weissembourg. Lastly, the army of the Rhine, consisting of thirty-five thousand foot and eight thousand horse, was led by the marshal Luckner, who occupied the space extending from the lines of Weissembourg to Bâsle. The frontier of the Alps and Pyrenees was intrusted to general Montesquiou, whose army was very small; but that portion of France was not yet exposed to danger.

The marshal de Rochambeau was of opinion that the army should remain on the defensive and keep the frontiers. Dumouriez, on the contrary, wished to act on the offensive and to

begin the attack, as France had first declared war, in order to profit by the advantage of being first ready. He was very enterprising: and as he directed the military operations, though minister for foreign affairs, he procured the adoption of his plan. It consisted in a rapid invasion of Belgium. That province had attempted, in 1790, to shake off the Austrian yoke, and after having been for a short period victorious, it had been conquered by superior force. Dumouriez imagined that the patriots of Brabant would favour the attack of the French, as a means of freedom for themselves. He planned a triple invasion for this end. The two generals Dillon and Biron, who commanded in Flanders under Rochambeau, received orders to march, the one with four thousand men from Lille upon Tournai, the other with ten thousand from Valenciennes upon Mons. At the same time La Fayette with a part of his army quitted Metz, and led his army to Namur, by forced marches through Stenai, Sedan, Mézières and Givet. But this plan presupposed in the soldiers habits which they had not yet acquired, and demanded a union of opinion and method very difficult to find among the chiefs. Besides, the invading columns were not strong enough

for such an enterprise. Scarcely had Dillon left the frontier and met the enemy, when a panic terror seized the troops. The cry through all the ranks, was *Sauve qui peut!* and he was dragged away by his own troops and massacred. The same thing took place, and accompanied by the same circumstances, in the army of Biron, who was alike obliged to retire in disorder to his former position. This sudden flight, which had been common to both columns, must either be ascribed to the dread of the enemy, experienced by troops who had never been in action, to distrust of their chiefs, or to the suggestions inspired by evil-disposed persons who hinted suspicions of treachery.

La Fayette, on arriving at Bouvines, after having marched fifty leagues in a few days and over bad roads, was informed of the disasters of Valenciennes and Lille: he saw that the object of the invasion had failed, and thought with reason that there was nothing better to be done than to effect a retreat. Rochambeau complained of *the precipitation and irregularity* of the measures which had been prescribed to him in the most absolute manner. As he did not feel disposed *to be-*

come a passive machine, obliged to act a part at their discretion which ought to be his own, he resigned his post. From that moment our army resumed the defensive. The force on the frontier was now divided into two armies only; of which the one, under the command of La Fayette, extended from the sea to Longevy; and the other from the Moselle to Jura was under the orders of Luckner. La Fayette put the left wing of his army under the command of Arthur Dillon, and his right joined that of Luckner, who had Biron for his lieutenant on the Rhine. It was in this position that the troops waited for those of the coalition.

These first checks, however, augmented the disunion of the Feuillants and the Girondists. The generals ascribed the failures to the plan of Dumouriez. The ministry threw the blame of them upon the generals, who had all been put in their places by Narbonne, and belonged to the constitutional party. On the other hand, the Jacobins accused the counter-revolutionists to have occasioned the rout by their cries of *Sauve qui peut!* Their joy, which they did not attempt to conceal, and their hopes of soon seeing their confederates

in Paris, the emigrants returned, and the old régime established, confirmed these suspicions. It was thought that the court, which had raised the mercenary body-guard of the king from eight hundred men to six thousand, and who had framed it of chosen counter-revolutionists, was acting in concert with the coalition. A secret committee, of which even the existence was not proved, was denounced as the *Austrian committee*. Public distrust was at its height.

The assembly immediately adopted party measures: it had entered into the war, and thenceforth was obliged to regulate its conduct much less after the rules of justice than those which seemed to be prescribed by the safety of the state. It established itself permanent: it disbanded the king's mercenary body-guard: the renewal of the religious troubles led it to issue a decree of banishment against the refractory clergy, in order no longer to have at once to combat a revolution and to appease revolts. To repair the late defeats, and that an army of reserve might be stationed near the capital, it adopted, on the motion of Servan the minister of war, the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men, to be placed below

Paris and selected from the departments. The assembly endeavoured at the same time to exalt the general enthusiasm by revolutionary fêtes, and began to enrol the populace by arming them with pikes, judging that no assistance could be superfluous at a moment of such imminent danger.

All these measures were not adopted without some opposition from the constitutionals. They opposed the establishment of the camp of twenty thousand men, which they regarded as a party army called in against the national guard and the throne. The staff of the guard protested, and the recomposition of this corps was speedily accomplished to the profit of the ruling party. Into the new national guard there were introduced companies armed with pikes. The constitutionals were still more discontented with this measure, which introduced the lower classes into their ranks, and appeared to them a plan for annulling the middle classes by the populace. Lastly, they condemned in an open manner the banishment of the priests, which was according to them nothing less than a decree of proscription.

Louis XVI had behaved for some time in a colder manner to his ministers, who, on their

side, appeared to exact more at his hands: they urged him to permit about his person priests who had taken the oaths, in order to give an example in favour of the constitutional religion and to remove a pretext for troubles: but this he constantly refused, being determined to make no concessions in matters of religion. The last decrees put a term to his union with the Girondists; he remained several days without alluding to them and without declaring his opinion on the point. It was then that Roland wrote to him his famous letter on his constitutional duties, and urged him, for the sake of calming the minds of the people, and of confirming his own authority, to declare himself frankly the king of the revolution. That letter still farther irritated Louis XVI, who was already resolved to break with the Girondists. He was supported by Dumouriez, who abandoned his party, and who had formed with Duranthon and Lacoste, a schism in the ministry against Roland, Servan, and Clavière. But, like a man at once ambitious and able, Dumouriez recommended Louis XVI to dismiss the ministers of whom he had to complain, and to sanction at the same time the decrees, in order to confirm his

popularity. He represented the one against the priest as a measure of precaution in their favour, as banishment was likely to remove them from a proscription which would probably be more deplorable: and he engaged to prevent the revolutionary consequences of the camp of 20,000 men, by despatching to the army battalions of them in proportion as they arrived. On these conditions, Dumouriez offered to undertake the office of minister at war, and to sustain the attacks of his own party; but Louis XVI dismissed the ministers and rejected the decrees, and Dumouriez went off to the army, after having rendered himself suspected. The assembly declared that Roland, Servan, and Clavière, carried with them the regrets of the nation.

The king chose his new ministry from the ranks of the Feuillants: Scipio Chambonnas took the foreign affairs; Terrier Monteil, the interior; Beaulieu, the finances; Lajarre, the war department; and Locoste and Duranthon remained for the time in charge of justice and of the navy. All these persons were without name or credit, and their party itself was approaching the term of its existence. the state of the constitution, during the ex-

istence of which alone it could maintain an ascendancy, was acquiring daily more and more a revolutionary aspect. How could a moderate party maintain itself between two violent and belligerent factions, of which the one was advancing from without to destroy the revolution, while the other was resolved, at all hazards, to defend it? The Feuillants were a superfluous party in this state of things. The king, who saw their weakness, seemed to count no longer on anything but on the state of Europe; and he despatched Mallet Dupan, charged with a secret mission to the coalition.

In the mean time all those whom the tide of popular opinion had gone beyond, and who belonged to the earlier days of the revolution, combined to second this slight retrograde movement. The monarchists, at the head of whom were Lally-Tollendal and Malouet, two of the principal members of the party of Mounier and Necker; the Feuillants, who were headed by the old triumvirate, Duport, Lameth, and Barnave; lastly, La Fayette, whose constitutional reputation was immense, endeavoured to repress the clubs, to confirm the order of the laws and the power of the

king. The Jacobins were eagerly in motion at this period: their influence became enormous; and they took the lead of the popular party. The ancient party, framed of the middle classes, was the only one which could have opposed or repressed them; but it was quite disorganized and its power was daily declining. It was to raise this party again that La Fayette wrote, on the 16th June, from the camp at Maubeuge, a letter to the assembly, in which he denounced the Jacobin faction: he demanded that an end should be put to the reign of the clubs; he required the independence and the security of the constitutional throne, and urged the assembly in his own name, in that of his army, and of all the friends of liberty, to adopt for the safety of the state only such measures as should be sanctioned by the law. This letter excited lively contests between the right and left side of the assembly. Though its motives were only pure and constitutional, it seemed on the part of a young general at the head of his army, a step imitative of Cromwell; and from that moment the reputation of La Fayette, which had till then been respected even by his adversaries, began to be attacked. Be-

sides, regarding such a step merely in a political view, it was imprudent. The Girondist party, driven from the ministry, and arrested in its plans for the public welfare, required no farther excitation; and it was quite wrong in La Fayette, even for the interests of his party, to have employed his influence so uselessly.

The Girondist party endeavoured, for its own security and that of the revolution, to regain its power, without however ceasing to employ constitutional means. Its object was not then, as it was at a later period, to dethrone the king, but to make him its own centre. For that purpose it had recourse to the imperious petitions of the multitude. The employment of this kind of popular violence was highly to be condemned: but all parties were placed in so extraordinary a situation, that each adopted an illegitimate means of support: the court the support of Europe, and the Girondists that of the people. The populace was in the greatest agitation. The leaders of the faubourgs, among whom were the deputy Chabot, Santerre, Gonchon, and the marquis of Saint Hurugues, had been for some days preparing the people for a similar revolutionary act to that which had failed at the Champ-de-Mars.

The 20th June, the anniversary of the oath of the *Tennis-court*, was approaching. Under pretence of celebrating, by a civic fête, that memorable day, and of planting a May-pole in honour of liberty, an assemblage of about eight thousand armed men on the 20th June left the faubourg Saint Antoine, and marched towards the hall of the assembly.

The procurator-syndic, Rœderer, came with the intention of informing the assembly of the meeting; and in the mean time the insurgents arrived at the doors of the hall. Their chiefs required to be allowed to present a petition and to file off before the assembly. Violent debates now took place between the members on the right, who refused to receive a petition from men in arms, and those on the left, who thought that according to certain precedents they ought to be admitted. It was difficult to oppose the wishes of an immense and enthusiastic multitude, which was seconded by the majority of the representatives. The deputation was introduced. The speaker who represented it expressed himself in the language of menace. He said that the people were roused, and ready to employ all their powers—powers which were included in the

declaration of rights, *resistance to oppression:* he said, that its opposers, if such there were in that assembly, ought to purge the land of freedom of their presence and depart to Coblentz: and then coming at once to the object of the insurrectionary petition: "The executive power," added he, "is not in accordance with you; and of this we ask no other proof than the dismissal of the patriot ministers. It is thus, then, that the happiness of a free people is to depend on the caprice of a king! But ought this king to have any other will than that of the law? The people think not. Such is its opinion, which may well weigh against that of crowned despots. The opinion of the people is the genealogical tree of the nation: and before that sturdy oak the feeble reed must bend! We complain, gentlemen, of the inactivity of our armies: we insist on your discovering the cause: and if it proceed from the executive power, we require that it should be annihilated!"

The assembly told the petitioners that their demand should be taken into consideration: it next exhorted them to respect the laws and the constituted authorities, and allowed them to file off through the midst of the members.

The crowd, which by this time had swelled to the number of thirty thousand men, mingled with women, children, national guards, and persons armed with pikes, displaying banners and signals of a decidedly revolutionary character, traversed the hall, singing the famous chorus, *ça ira!* and shouting, "The nation for ever! Long live the Sans-culottes! Down with the veto!" The multitude was led by Santerre and the marquis of St. Hurugues. On leaving the assembly, the crowd marched towards the palace, with the petitioners at its head.

The outer gates were thrown open by order of the king: the crowd then poured into the palace, and entered the apartments. They were demolishing the doors by blows with axes, when Louis XVI ordered them to be opened, and presented himself to the multitude attended only by a few persons. The stormy wave of the crowd was arrested for an instant by his appearance; but those who were without, continued still to advance, not being withheld by respect for the presence of the king. Louis XVI was prudently placed in the opening of a window. Never did he discover more courage and true greatness of mind than on that melancholy day. Sur-

rounded by national guards, who served as a barrier to keep off the crowd, and seated on a chair which was placed on a table to allow him to breathe more freely, and be seen more distinctly by the people, he preserved a calm and undaunted countenance: he replied with decision to the loud cries of those who demanded his sanction to the decrees: "This is neither the form in which it ought to be demanded of me, nor the moment to obtain it." Having had the courage to refuse what was the main object of the insurrection, he thought it unnecessary to refuse a token unimportant to him, but which in the eye of the multitude was the signal of liberty: he placed on his head a red cap which was presented to him on the point of a pike. The multitude was highly pleased with this mark of condescension. A few moments after, he was loaded with applauses, when, almost stifled with heat and thirst, he drank without hesitation out of a glass which was handed to him by a half intoxicated labourer. In the mean time Vergniaud, Isnard, and several deputies of the Gironde, had hastened to the spot to protect the king, to harangue the people, and put an end to these disgraceful scenes. The as-

sembly, which had just risen, reassembled in haste, alarmed at this irruption, and despatched several successive deputations to Louis XVI, to serve as a safeguard to him. At last, Pétion the mayor arrived ; and standing on a chair, harangued the populace, exhorting them to retire without tumult, a command which they obeyed. These singular insurgents, whose only aim was to obtain the decrees and new ministers, withdr w without having transgressed the bounds of their mission, but at the same time without having accomplished it.

The 20th June excited the constitutional opinion against the authors of it. The violation of the royal residence, the insults offered to Louis XVI,the illegality of a petition presented amidst the violence of a multitude and with a show of arms, were grounds of strong reproach against the popular party. The latter found itself for an instant reduced to act on the defensive, for besides having been guilty of a tumult, it had in reality received a check. The constitutionals resumed the tone of an offended and ruling party ; but this did not last long, for they were not seconded by the court. The national guard offered to assem-

ble for the protection of the person of Louis XVI, and the duke of Rochefoucault Liancourt, who commanded at Rouen, wished to carry him to Rouen, and place him in the midst of the troops who were devoted to him. La Fayette proposed to conduct him to Compiègne, and to place him at the head of his army; but Louis XVI refused all these offers. He imagined that the agitators would be disgusted with the failure of their late attempt: and as he looked for his deliverance to the confederate powers, he was unwilling to avail himself of the constitutionals, because it would in that case have been necessary to treat with them.

La Fayette, however, made a new attempt in favour of the legitimate monarchy. After having provided for the command of his army, and collected addresses against the late events, he set out for Paris, and presented himself unexpectedly on the 28th June, at the bar of the assembly. He demanded in his own name, and in that of the army, the punishment of those who had figured in the attempt of the 20th June, and the destruction of the sect of the Jacobins. This step excited various sensations among the members of the

assembly; the right side applauded him greatly, but the left side opposed his sentiments and conduct. Guadet moved an inquiry whether he were not culpable in having quitted his army, and in thus coming to dictate laws to the assembly. Some remains of former respect induced the meeting to reject the motion of Guadet; and after a tumultuous debate, it admitted La Fayette to the honours of the meeting; but this was all that the assembly would do. La Fayette's hopes now turned towards the national guard, which had so long been devoted to him; and he trusted with the aid of its members, to succeed in putting an end to the clubs, dispersing the Jacobins, restoring to Louis XVI all the authority which the law had conferred on him, and giving security to the constitution. The revolutionary party was in a state of stupefaction, and dreaded the worst results, from the boldness and the activity of this redoubtable adversary of the Champ-de-Mars. But the court, which feared that the constitutionals might triumph, was itself the cause of the failure of La Fayette's projects: he had announced a review, which the court prevented by its influence with the royalist officers. The

grenadiers and the chasseurs, select corps, which were still better disposed than the others, were to meet before his house, and from thence to march against the clubs; but not more than thirty men made their appearance. Having thus vainly attempted to rally in the cause of the constitutional and of the general security, the court and the national guard, and finding himself deserted by all those whom he came to succour, La Fayette returned to the army, after losing all the remains which had been left him of popularity and influence. This effort was the last sign of life on the part of the constitutional party.

The assembly then naturally returned to the consideration of the state of France, which had not changed. The extraordinary commission of twelve, presented through Pastoret a very discouraging picture of the state and the divisions of parties. Jean Debry, in the name of the same commission, proposed to announce, for the sake of maintaining tranquillity in the public mind, which was extremely agitated, that the assembly should declare the moment when the crisis became imminent, by the words "*Our country is in danger!*" and that then measures for the pub-

lic safety should be adopted. The discussion opened by the consideration of this important proposition. Vergniaud, in a speech which produced a great effect on the assembly, painted all the dangers to which, at that moment, the country was exposed. He stated that it was *in the name of the king* that the emigrants were assembled, that the sovereigns were leagued, that foreign armies were marching on our frontiers, and that our internal disturbances took place. He accused him of weakening the national energy by his refusals, and of thus delivering up France to the coalition. He quoted that article of the constitution which declared that *if the king placed himself at the head of an army and directed its forces against the nation, or if he did not oppose any similar enterprise which should be attempted in his name, he should be regarded as having abdicated the monarchy.* He then supposed that Louis XVI should have voluntarily opposed the true means of defending the country, and "In this case," said he, "should we not have a right to say to him: O king! who doubtless didst believe, like the tyrant Lysander, that truth is no better than a lie, and that men were to be amused

with oaths as children are amused with play-things ; you who have only feigned a love of the laws, in order to maintain the power of braving them ; and love of the constitution, lest you should have been hurried from the throne, where you wish to remain only to destroy it ; do you think now to deceive us by any more of your hypocritical protestations ? Do you think to flatter us with forgetfulness of our misfortunes by your artificial excuses ? Was it in order to defend us that you opposed foreign soldiers by troops whose inferiority did not leave a chance of doubt as to their defeat ? Was it to defend us that you rejected all the propositions for fortifying the interior ? Was it for our defence that you countenanced the act of a general who violated the constitution, and chilled the courage of those who served it ? Did the constitution leave you the choice of your ministers for our happiness, or for our ruin ? Did it appoint you the head of our armies for our glory, or our shame ? Did she leave you, in short, the right of sanctioning measures, a civil list, and so many prerogatives, in order that you might constitutionally ruin the constitution and the empire ? No, no ! Man, whom the generosity

of Frenchmen has been unable to touch, and whom love of despotism alone can warm—you are no longer any part of that constitution you have so unworthily violated—of that people you have so unworthily betrayed!"

In the situation of the Girondist party, it no longer counted on anything but the deposition of the king. Vergniaud, indeed, expressed himself as yet but in the language of supposition; but all the popular party ascribed to Louis XVI in reality the projects which, in the mouth of Vergniaud, were only assumptions. A few days afterwards, Brissot expressed himself still more plainly: "The dangers which surround us," said he, "are the most extraordinary which have been known in past ages. Our country is in danger, not for want of troops, not because these troops want courage, because her frontiers are ill fortified, and her resources scanty—No! she is in danger because her forces are paralyzed. And who has paralyzed them? A single individual; the very man whom the constitution raised into its chief, and whom perfidious advisers have rendered its enemy! You have been told to dread the kings of Hungary and Prussia

—I tell you that the main strength of these sovereigns is in our own court; there it is that they must be first conquered. You have been told to give a blow to the refractory priests without the realm—but I tell you that a blow aimed at the Tuileries will reach at once all these priests. You have been told to attack all intriguers, all conspirators, and all the factious—I tell you that all these will disappear, if vengeance reach them through the Tuileries; for that cabinet is the point to which all their machinations tend, where all their plots are concocted, and from whence all impulses spring! The nation is the puppet of this cabinet. This is the secret of our situation and the source of our evils; and there it is to which the remedy must be applied."

The Gironde in this manner prepared the assembly for the question of deposal. But the great question relative to the dangers of the country was previously decided on. The three united committees declared that it was then time to take measures for the public safety, and the assembly then proclaimed the solemn formula, "*Citizens, the country is in danger!*" Upon this all the civil authorities immediately placed themselves in a state of

permanent surveillance; all the citizens fit to bear arms, and who had already performed the functions of national guards, were put on active service; every one was called on to declare what arms and ammunition he had in his possession; pikes were given to those who could not carry guns; battalions of volunteers were enrolled in the public squares, in the midst of which banners were planted, bearing the words "*Citizens, the country is in danger!*" and a camp was formed at Soissons. All these measures of defence, now become indispensable, carried to its height the excitation of the revolutionary frenzy. An opportunity of remarking it was afforded by the anniversary of the 14th July, during which the sentiments of the multitude and of the federates of the departments burst forth without disguise. Pétion was the object of the popular idolatry, and bore away all the honours of the federation. A few days previous, he had been dismissed from his place, on account of his conduct on the 20th June, by the directory of the department and by the council; but the assembly had restored him to his functions, and the sole cry uttered on the day of the federation was "*Pétion or death!*" A few

battalions of the national guard, such for example as that of the Filles St. Thomas, having still discovered some attachment to the court, became the objects of popular distrust and resentment. A dispute was fomented in the Champs Elysées, between the grenadiers of the Filles St. Thomas and the federates of Marseilles, in which several grenadiers were wounded. The crisis rose higher every day; the war party could no longer endure that of the constitution. The attacks on La Fayette grew more numerous; he was pursued by the journalists and denounced in the assembly. At length, hostilities commenced; the club of the Feuillants was closed; the companies of the grenadiers and chasseurs of the national guard, who were the support of the middling class, were broken; the troops of the line and the Swiss soldiers were removed from Paris, and the catastrophe of the 10th August was openly preparing.

The march of the Prussians, and the manifesto of Brunswick, contributed to hasten this movement. Prussia had united with Austria and the German princes against France. This coalition, which was joined by the court of Turin, was formidable, though it

did not include all the powers which at first had signified an intention of joining it. The death of Gustavus, who had been named to the chief command of the army of invasion, had detached Sweden from it; the appointment of the count d'Aranda, a man of prudence and moderation, as Spanish minister, in the room of the marquis of Blanca-Florida, had prevented Spain from entering into the league; and Russia and England, though they secretly approved the attacks of the European coalition, had not yet co-operated in them. After the military events, of which an account has been given, there was rather a system of mutual observation adopted than of warfare. During this time, La Fayette had accustomed his army to habits of discipline and devotion to the service; and Dumouriez, placed under Luckner at the camp of Maulde, had trained for action the troops intrusted to him, by slight skirmishes and daily successes. They had thus formed the basis of a good army, a thing rendered absolutely necessary by the need of organization and confidence required to repel the approaching invasion of the confederates.

The duke of Brunswick conducted it. He

had the entire command of the hostile army, composed of seventy thousand Prussians, and sixty-eight thousand Austrians, Hessians, and emigrants. The following was the plan of invasion:—The duke of Brunswick was to pass the Rhine at Coblentz with the Prussians, march up the left bank of the Moselle, attack the frontier of France in its central point, as being most accessible, and advance to the capital by Longwy, Verdun, and Châlons. The prince of Hohenlöhe was to pursue operations on his left, in the direction of Metz and Thionville, with the Hessians and corps of emigrants; while general Clairfait was to cover his right with the Austrians and another corps of emigrants; he was then to overthrow La Fayette, who was placed between Sedan and Mézières, to cross the Meuse, and march by Rheims and Soissons upon Paris. In this manner the enemy was to advance concentrically on the capital from the middle and the two sides—from the Moselle, from the Rhine, and from the Low Countries. Other bodies of the army, placed on the Rhenish frontier, and on that of the extreme north, were, by attacking our troops on these sides, to facilitate the central invasion.

On the 25th July, the day on which the army first put itself into motion, and left Coblentz, the duke of Brunswick published a manifesto in the name of the emperor and the king of Prussia. He reproached *those who had usurped the reins of administration in France* with having troubled its good order, and overthrown its legitimate government; with having been guilty of attempts against the king's person and family, and of violence daily renewed; with having arbitrarily withheld the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; and, lastly, with having crowned that measure by declaring an unjust war against his majesty the emperor, and by attacking his provinces in the Low Countries. He declared, that the allied sovereigns had taken up arms in order to put an end to anarchy in France, to arrest the attacks upon the altar and the throne, to render to the king the security and the liberty of which he had been deprived, and to put him in a situation for exercising his legitimate authority. In consequence, he declared the national guards and the authorities responsible for all these disorders, until the arrival of the troops of the coalition. He summoned them

to return to their ancient fidelity. He said that the inhabitants of the towns *which ventured to defend themselves* should be punished immediately as rebels, according to the rigour of war, and their houses demolished or burnt: that if the city of Paris did not restore the king to his full liberty, or refused him the respect due to his rank, it would be upon the heads of,—and the combined princes would render personally responsible for such failure, to be judged by military law, and without hope of pardon,—all the members of the national assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guard; that if the palace were forced or insulted, the princes would take an exemplary and memorable vengeance, by giving up Paris to plunder and to total destruction. He promised, on the contrary, that he would engage to employ the good offices of the confederate princes with Louis XVI in favour of the inhabitants of Paris, and obtain for them the pardon of their errors and offences, if they promptly obeyed the orders of the coalition.

This violent and impolitic manifesto, which disguised neither the designs of the emigrants nor those of Europe; which spoke of a great

people with a tone of contempt and in a style of command altogether extraordinary; which threatened it openly with all the miseries of an invasion, and above all with despotism and vengeance, roused the spirit of the whole nation. This more than anything else hastened the fall of the throne, and opposed the success of the coalition. There was but one wish, one cry of resistance, from one end of France to the other; and whoever had not joined in it would have been regarded as guilty of impiety towards his country and the sacred cause of its independence. The popular party, which was thus forced, as it were, to triumph, saw no other means than that of annulling the monarchy, and in order to annul it, to depose the king. But every individual in the party wished to arrive at this end in his own way: the Gironde, by a decree of the assembly; the chiefs of the multitude, by insurrection. Danton, Robespierre, Camille-Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, Marat, &c. formed a displaced faction, who wanted a revolution which should carry them from the midst of the people into the assembly and the municipality. They were, besides, the real chiefs of the new movement which was about to arise, through the means of the lower class

of society, against the middle class, to which the Girondists belonged, both by their situation and by their habits. A division began from this time betwixt those who only wished to abolish the court in the actual state of things, and those who wished to introduce the multitude in place of it.

The latter did not relish the delays of a discussion. Agitated with all the revolutionary frenzy, they made ready for an attack, for which the preparations had been openly made a long time previously.

Their enterprise was several times projected and suspended. On the 26th July an insurrection was to have broken out; but it was ill contrived, and Pétion prevented it. When the Marseillois federates arrived to join the camp at Soissons, the inhabitants of the faubourgs were to meet them, and all were to march suddenly upon the palace. This insurrection also failed. The arrival of the Marseillois however encouraged the disturbance of the capital, and conferences were held between them and the federate chiefs at Charenton for the overthrow of the throne. The divisions of the city were in a state of great agitation: that of Mauconseil was the first which declared

itself in a state of insurrection, and it caused this fact to be notified to the assembly. The dethronement of the king was discussed in the clubs, and on the 3rd August Pétion the mayor came to demand it of the legislative body, in the name of the commune and the sections. The petition was referred to the extraordinary committee of twelve. On the 8th the question was discussed whether La Fayette should be accused: but some remains of courage were left in the assembly, the majority of which sustained his cause with warmth, and not without some danger to themselves. He was acquitted: but all those who had given their votes for him were hissed, pursued, and maltreated by the populace, on leaving the hall.

The following day the general effervescence was extreme. The constitutionals complained of the excesses of the previous night: they insisted that the federates should be sent to Soissons, and that measures should be adopted to secure the tranquillity of Paris, and the freedom of their deliberations. The Girondists defended the federates. While this was passing, news arrived that the section of the Quinze-Vingts had declared that if the resolution of dethronement were not pronounced

that very day, the tocsin should be sounded at midnight, the drums should beat the *générale*, and the palace should be attacked. This determination had been transmitted to all the forty-eight sections, and had been approved of by all, with the exception of one only. The assembly summoned the procurator syndic of the department, who stated that he had all the good-will that could be desired, but that he wanted power; and the mayor, who replied that at a moment when the sections had resumed their sovereignty, he could exercise no influence over the people but that of persuasion. The assembly then separated without having resolved upon any measure.

The insurgents fixed the day for the attack on the palace for the 10th August. The chief place of assembling was in the faubourg St. Antoine. In the evening, after a very stormy meeting, the Jacobins proceeded thither in a body: and the insurrection was then organised. It was determined to annul the department: to dismiss Pétion, in order to free him from the duties of his place and from all responsibility: and, lastly, to replace the general council of the commune by an insurrectionary municipality. The agitators went

at the same time through all the sections of the faubourgs and into all the barracks of the Breton and Marseillois federates.

The court had been for some time apprised of the danger, and had put itself into a state of defence. Perhaps at this moment the king thought he might not only make a resistance but even re-establish himself entirely. The interior of the palace was occupied by the Swiss guards, to the number of eight or nine hundred: by officers of the disbanded guard, and by a troop of gentlemen and royalists, who had assembled there armed with pistols, sabres, and swords. The commander of the national guard Mandat had marched to the palace with his staff to defend it; and had given orders to the battalions the most attached to the constitution to take arms. The ministers were also with the king: the syndic of the department had gone thither, and Pétion had been sent for to inform the court of the state of Paris, to obtain his authority for repelling force by force, and for the sake of keeping him as a hostage.

At midnight a shot was heard, the tocsins sounded, the *générale* was beat, the insurgents assembled and ranged themselves: the mem-

bers of the sections annulled the municipality, and named a provisional council for the commune, which went off to the Hôtel-de-Ville to direct the insurrection. On the other side the battalions of the national guard marched up to the palace, and were placed in the courts and at the principal posts, with the gendarmerie on horseback, while the Swiss guards and the volunteers guarded the apartments. The palace was defended in the best manner.

In the mean time several deputies, awakened by the tocsin, had hastened to the hall of the legislative body, and had opened a discussion at which Vergniaud presided. Upon hearing that Pétion was detained at the Tuileries, and that he wished to be dismissed, they summoned him to the bar of the assembly to give an account of the state of Paris. On receiving that order, he was released at the palace: he appeared before the assembly, who restored him to his functions: but he had scarcely reached the Hôtel-de-Ville, when he was put under the guard of three hundred men, by order of the new commune. The latter, who wished for no other authority, in such a day of disorder, than the insurrectionary authorities, sent for the commandant Mandat to give

an account of the preparations at the palace. Mandat hesitated to obey, but not knowing that the municipality was changed, and his duty binding him to obey its orders, he set out for the Hôtel-de-Ville. On entering, he saw new faces, and he grew pale. He was then accused of having authorized the troops to fire on the people; he hesitated, was sent to the Abbey, and, as he left the hall, the multitude assassinated him on the steps of the Hôtel-de-Ville. The commune then gave the command of the national guard to Santerre.

The court thus found itself deprived of its most resolute and influential defender. The presence of Mandat, and the order he had received to employ force in case of need, were necessary to induce the national guard to fight. The sight of the nobles and the royalists had greatly cooled their enthusiasm. Mandat himself, before his departure, had entreated the queen to dismiss that troop, which was regarded as a troop of aristocrats: but she replied with asperity—"These gentlemen are come to defend us, and we count upon them." A division had already arisen among the defenders of the palace, when Louis XVI reviewed them at five o'clock in the morning.

He first went over the soldiers at the interior posts, all of whom were animated with the liveliest zeal: he was followed by madame Elizabeth, the dauphin, and the queen, whose *Austrian lip and eagle nose, which were fuller than usual, gave her an air of great majesty.* The king was very melancholy: "I will not," said he, "separate my cause from that of my good citizens, we will save ourselves or perish together." He next descended into the courts followed by some general officers. As soon as he arrived, the troops began to move; the cry of *Vive le roi!* was heard, and was repeated by the national guard; to which the artillery and the battalion of the Red-Cross replied by a shout of *Vive la nation!* At the same moment arrived two new battalions, armed with guns and pikes, who, as they filed off before the king to take their station on the terrace of the Seine, cried out, *Vive la nation! Vive Pétion!* The king continued the review, not without being affected by this sad omen. He was received with the strongest demonstrations of attachment by the battalions of the Filles St. Thomas, and of the Petits Pères, who occupied the terrace which runs along the palace wall. While he was cros-

sing the garden to visit the posts of the Pont-Tournant, the battalions with pikes pursued him with the cry of—"*Down with the veto! Down with the traitor!*" and when he returned, they quitted their position, placed themselves near the Pont-Royal, and pointed their guns against the palace. Two other battalions posted in the courts followed their example, and placed themselves on the square of the Carrousel in a menacing attitude. The king on his return to the palace was pale and cast down; and the queen said, "All is over: that kind of review has done more harm than good."

While all this was passing at the Tuileries, the insurgents were advancing in several columns: they had passed the whole night in uniting and organizing their forces. In the morning they forced the arsenal and distributed the arms among themselves. The column of the faubourg St. Antoine, which was about fifteen thousand strong, and that of the faubourg St. Marceau, consisting of about five thousand, had begun their march at five in the morning. The crowd increased on its passage. A troop had been placed by the directory of the department on the Pont-

Neuf, in order to prevent the junction of the assailants from the two sides of the river: but the commune ordered it to quit that post, and the passage of the bridge was now free. The advanced guard of the faubourgs, composed of the Marseillois and Breton federates, had already issued from the Rue St. Honoré, had ranged itself in battle array on the Place du Carrousel, and pointed its cannon against the palace. It was at this moment that the procurator syndic, Rœderer, who had not quitted the Tuileries during the whole night, presented himself to them, and stated that it was impossible that such a multitude could have access to the king, or to the national assembly; and recommended them to name twenty deputies, and charge them with their demands: but to this suggestion they refused to listen. He then addressed the national troops, and read to them the article of the law which enjoined them in case of attack to repel force by force: but a very small portion only of the national guard appeared disposed to this, and the gunners made no reply but by discharging their cannon. Rœderer, seeing that the insurgents were everywhere successful, that they were masters of the commune,

that they disposed of the multitude and even of the troops, returned in all haste to the palace, at the head of the executive directory.

The king was holding a council with the queen and ministers. A municipal officer had just spread an alarm, by stating that the columns of the insurgents were approaching the Tuileries. "Well—and what do they want?" said Joly, the keeper of the seals. "The dethronement of the king," replied the officer. "Let the assembly pronounce the vote then," added the minister. "But after the dethronement," said the queen, "what is to happen?" The municipal officer bowed, without answering. At the same moment Rœderer entered, who augmented the consternation of the court by announcing that the danger was extreme; that the bands of the insurgents were intractable; that the national guard was not to be trusted, and that the royal family would expose itself to infallible ruin, if the members of it did not place themselves in the midst of the legislative assembly. The queen at first rejected this advice with the utmost scorn. "I would rather," said she, "be nailed to the walls of this palace than leave it." Then

addressing herself to the king, and presenting him with a pistol: "There, sir," said she, "now is the moment to show your courage." The king remained silent. "You wish then, madam," added Rœderer, "to render yourself responsible for the death of the king, of yourself, of your children, and of all who are now assembled in this palace to defend you." These words decided the king: he arose to go to the assembly, and the queen followed him: in departing, he said to the ministers and to the defenders of the palace,—"Gentlemen, there is no longer anything to be done here." Accompanied by his family and some persons belonging to his household, Louis XVI crossed the garden of the Tuileries in the midst of two lines of Swiss guards and battalions of the Filles Saint Thomas and Petits Pères; but, when he arrived at the gate of the Feuillants, an immense multitude crowded the passage, and refused to give way before him. His escort had much trouble in conducting him to the hall of the assembly, where he arrived amidst the abuse, threats, and vociferations of the multitude.

A justice of peace, who preceded the king, came to announce his arrival to the legislative

body, which was deliberating at this moment on the propriety of despatching a deputation to the palace. The members who sat nearest the door immediately went out to receive Louis XVI. "Gentlemen," said the king, on entering the hall; "I am come among you to prevent the commission of a great crime. I shall always consider myself and my family in safety while we are in the midst of you."—"Sire," replied Vergniaud, who was in the chair; "you may rely upon the firmness of the national assembly: its members have sworn to die in support of the rights of the people and of the constituted authorities." The king then took a seat by the side of the president. But Chabot recollecting that the assembly could not deliberate in presence of the king, Louis XVI passed with his family and his ministers into the box of the reporters of the assembly, which was behind the president, and from whence all that passed could be seen and heard.

After the departure of the king, all motives to resistance had ceased. Besides, the means of defence themselves had diminished with the departure of three hundred Swiss, and three hundred national guards, who had

escorted Louis XVI. The gendarmes had quitted their posts amidst cries of *Vive la nation!* The national guard was disposed to take part with the assailants: but the enemy was in sight; and though the cause of combat existed no longer, the combat itself did not the less take place. The columns of the insurgents surrounded the palace. The Marseillois and the Bretons, who occupied the first line, had forced the royal gate of the Carrousel, and penetrated into the courts of the castle. They had at their head an old soldier named Westermann, a very courageous and resolute man, and the friend of Danton. He ranged his troop in the order of battle and advanced towards the artillery, who, at his desire, joined the Marseillois with their cannon. The Swiss guard stood at the windows of the palace in motionless attitudes. The two troops stood for some time eyeing each other, without beginning the attack. Some of the assailants even advanced in token of brotherhood, and the Swiss guards threw cartridges from the windows in sign of peace. They even penetrated to the vestibule, where they found other defenders of the palace: a barrier separated the parties. There it was

that the combat began; but it is impossible to say on which side the aggression was first offered. The Swiss guards then opened a destructive fire upon the insurgents, who soon dispersed. The square of the Carrousel was soon cleared. But the Marseillois and the Bretons speedily returned with renewed force: the Swiss guards were cannonaded and surrounded; and after holding out as long as they could, they were defeated, pursued, and exterminated. It was no longer a combat, but a massacre; and, in the palace, the multitude gave themselves up to all the excesses of victory.

The assembly was during this time in a state of lively alarm. The first reports of the cannon had spread consternation among them. As the discharges of artillery grew more frequent, their agitation redoubled. At one moment the members of the assembly gave themselves up for lost. An officer entered the hall precipitately, crying out, "To your places, legislators! the hall is forced." Some deputies rose up to leave the assembly. "No no," cried the others; "this is our post." The tribunes then shouted, "*The national assembly for ever!*" and the assembly returned the

shout by crying, "*The nation for ever!*" At last shouts were heard without of "*Victory! victory!*" and the fate of the monarchy was decided.

The assembly immediately issued a proclamation for the purpose of restoring tranquillity, and conjuring the people to respect justice, their magistrates, the rights of man, liberty and equality. But the multitude and its chiefs had the entire power, and were determined to exert it. The new municipality presented itself to the assembly, claiming the recognition of its powers. It was preceded by three banners, on which were inscribed the words, "*Our Country—Liberty—and Equality.*" The harangue of its members was imperious, and concluded by demanding the dethronement of the king, and a national convention. Deputations succeeded each other, and all expressed the same wish, or rather, to use a more appropriate phrase, they all communicated the same order. The assembly found itself constrained to yield. Nevertheless, it was reluctant to take upon itself the dethronement of the king. Vergniaud mounted the tribune in the name of the Committee of Twelve, and said: "I come to propose to you a very rigorous measure; but

I leave you to judge how important it is that you should immediately adopt it." This measure consisted in the convocation of a national convention; in the dismissal of the ministers, and the suspension of the king's authority. The assembly adopted it unanimously. The Girondist ministers were recalled; the famous decrees were put in force; and commissaries were sent to the army to ensure their fidelity. Louis XVI, to whom the assembly had at first assigned the Luxembourg as a residence, was now transferred to the Temple, as a prisoner, by the all-powerful commune, under the pretext, that it was impossible, without taking such a step, to be sure of his person. At length, the 23d September was fixed for the opening of the extraordinary sitting, which was to decide the fate of the monarchy. But the latter had in fact ceased on the 10th August, —on that day which witnessed the insurrection of the mob against the middle classes and the constitutional monarchy; just as, on the 14th July, that of the middle classes abolished the privileged orders and the absolute power of the crown. The 10th August witnessed the first commencement of

the dictatorial and absolute power of the revolution. As circumstances became more and more difficult, there arose a great struggle, which required an increased energy; and that energy misdirected, because popular, rendered the dominion of the lower classes uneasy, oppressive, and cruel. The question then changed its nature altogether; it had no longer for its end general liberty, but the public safety; and the conventional period, from the end of the constitution of 1791, till the time when the constitution of the year 3 established the directory, was only a long campaign of the revolution against parties, and against Europe. It was scarcely possible that it should have been otherwise. "The revolutionary movement once established," says M. de Maistre,* "France and the monarchy could only have been saved by jacobinism.—Our posterity, who will be sufficiently indifferent about our sufferings, and who will dance upon our graves, will laugh at our ignorance; they will easily console themselves for the excesses which we have witnessed,

* Considerations on France.

and which have preserved the integrity of this fine kingdom."

The departments approved of the events of the 10th August. The army, which was always somewhat slower to feel the influence of the revolution, was still royalist and constitutional; nevertheless, as the troops were subordinate to the parties, they would necessarily submit without difficulty to the prevailing opinion. The generals of the second rank, such as Dumouriez, Custines, baron Kellermann, and Labourdonnaie, were disposed to approve the recent changes. They had not yet taken any side, but they thought a revolution of this kind would procure them advancement. It was not thus with the generals in chief. Luckner was undecided, between the insurrection of the 12th August, (which he styled *a little accident which had occurred at Paris,)* and *his friend* La Fayette. The latter, the chief of the constitutional party, attached to his oath in the minutest points, wished still to defend the fallen monarchy, and a constitution which no longer existed. He was at the head of thirty thousand men, who were attached to his cause and to his person. His

head-quarters were near Sédan. In his plans of resistance in favour of the constitution, he joined the municipality of that town, and the directory of the department of Ardennes, in order to establish a civil centre, round which all the departments might rally. The three commissaries, Kersaint, Antonnelle, and Péraldy, sent by the legislative to his army, were arrested and imprisoned in the tower of Sédan. The motive assigned for that measure was, *that the assembly, having been made to act upon compulsion, the members who had accepted such a mission could only be the chiefs or the instruments of the faction which had subjugated the national assembly and the king.* The troops and the civil authorities afterwards renewed their oath of fidelity to the constitution, and La Fayette endeavoured to widen the circle of the insurrection of the army against the popular insurrection.

Perhaps at this moment general La Fayette thought too much of the past, of the law, and of the oaths which had been generally taken, and not enough of the truly singular situation in which France then stood. He saw only the dearest hopes of the friends of liberty destroyed, the invasion of the state by the mul-

titude, and the Jacobin reign of anarchy; but he did not see the fatality of a situation which rendered indispensable the triumph of these last comers of the revolution. It was scarcely possible that the middle class, which had shown itself strong enough to throw down the monarchy, and vanquish the privileged classes, but which had reposed since that victory, could repel the emigrants and the whole of Europe. For this a new movement—a new faith, were required: there was wanting a class, numerous, fresh, and ardent, which should regard the 10th August with the same enthusiasm as the middle class regarded the 14th July. This class La Fayette could not join; he had opposed it under the constituent assembly, in the Champ-de-Mars, before and after the 20th June. He could neither continue to act his former part, nor defend the existence of a party, which had justice on its side, though events were against it, without compromising the fate of his country, and the results of a revolution, to which he was so sincerely attached. His resistance, if farther prolonged, would have produced a civil war between the army and the people, at a moment when it was not clear that their united efforts would

be sufficient to withstand the invasion of foreign powers.

It was now the 19th August, and the army of invasion, which had left Coblentz on the 30th July, marched up the Moselle, and advanced upon that frontier. The troops were disposed, in consideration of the general danger, to return to their obedience to the national assembly ; Luckner, who had at first approved of the conduct of La Fayette, now retracted *with tears and oaths* before the municipality of Mentz; and La Fayette himself felt that he must yield to a destiny too powerful to be resisted. He quitted his army, taking upon himself the whole responsibility of that insurrection. He was accompanied by Bureau de Pusy, Latour-Maubourg, Alexander Lameth, and several officers of his staff. He directed his steps across the enemy's posts towards Holland, proposing from thence to proceed to the United States, his second country ; but he was discovered by the Austrians and arrested, together with his companions. In violation of all the rights of nations, he was treated as a prisoner of war, and shut up in the prisons of Magdeburg and Olmutz. During four years of the severest captivity, suffering all kinds of

privations, ignorant of the fate of liberty, and of his country, and having before him only a long and discouraging prospect of imprisonment, he displayed the most heroic courage. He was offered his liberty at the price of a few retractions, but he preferred remaining buried in his dungeon, to abandoning, in any one point, the sacred cause which he had embraced.

The lives of few, in our time, have been as pure as that of La Fayette; few characters have been loftier, few popular persons have better deserved, or longer preserved public esteem. After having fought for liberty in America, by the side of Washington, he wished to establish it as he had done in France; but this grand part could not be acted in our revolution. When a nation seeks its liberty, without being troubled by internal dissensions, and when it has only foreigners for its enemies, it may find a deliverer, and may produce, in Switzerland a William Tell, in the Low Countries, a prince of Orange, or in America, a Washington; but when a people pursues liberty in spite of some among itself, and opposed by others, amidst factions; such a people can only produce Cromwells or

Bonapartes, who rise into the dictators of revolutions, after the struggles and exhaustion of parties. La Fayette was the general of the middle ranks, whether at the head of the national guard, under the constituent assembly, or at that of the army, under the legislative assembly, He was raised by this class, and with this his part was to end. It must be said of him, that, though he may have committed some errors, he never had but one object—liberty ; and never employed but one means of attaining it—the law. The manner in which, while still young, he devoted himself to the deliverance of both worlds, his glorious conduct, and his invariable constancy, will cause him to be honoured by posterity, in the eyes of which, no man, as in party-times, has two reputations, but must depend upon his own.

The actors in the scenes of the 10th August were daily more and more divided, and could not agree upon the results which that revolution was to have. That audacious party which had seized upon the commune, desired through the commune to govern Paris; by means of Paris, the national assembly; and, through the assembly, France. After having obtained the

removal of Louis XVI to the Temple, this party ordered the demolition of all the statues of our kings, and of all the emblems of royalty.

The department had formerly exercised a check over the municipality: this was abrogated in order to render the latter independent; the law exacted certain conditions to qualify for an active citizen, which the party abolished by a decree, in order that the multitude might be introduced into the government of the state. It demanded, at the same time, the establishment of an extraordinary tribunal, to try *the conspirators of the 10th August*. As the assembly did not seem sufficiently pliant, but endeavoured by its proclamations to recall the people to more just and moderate sentiments, it received from the Hôtel-de-Ville messages of the most threatening description. "As a citizen," said a member of the commune, "and as a magistrate of the people, I come to announce to you, that this night, at midnight, the tocsin shall sound, and the *générale* shall be beaten. The people are tired of remaining unavenged; dread, lest they rise to avenge themselves!"—"If before three or four hours," said another, "the foreman of the jury be not named, if the jury be not in readiness to act,

the most fearful consequences await Paris." To avoid these new disasters, the assembly was compelled to appoint an extraordinary criminal tribunal. This tribunal condemned a few persons; but it appeared too slow for the wishes of the commune, who had conceived the most terrible projects.

The commune had at its head Marat, Panis, Sergent, Duplain, Lenfant, Lefort, Jourdeuil, Collot-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, Tallien, &c.: but the principal head of the party was at that time Danton, who more than any other had co-operated in the events of the 10th August. During the whole of that night, he had been running from the sections to the barracks of the Marseillois and the Bretons, and from thence to the faubourgs. He had directed the operations of the revolutionary commune as one of its members, and had been afterwards appointed a member for the administration of justice.

Danton was a revolutionist of the most violent kind. No means appeared to him wrong, provided they were useful; and, according to his creed, all that was possible was lawful. Danton, who has been styled the Mirabeau of the populace, bore some resemblance to that

tribune of the higher orders; he had marked features, a strong voice, impetuous gestures, a bold style of eloquence, and a commanding manner. Their vices were the same: but those of Mirabeau were the vices of a patrician, those of Danton of a democrat: what was bold in the conceptions of Mirabeau might be traced in Danton, but bearing a different character, as belonging to a different class and period of the revolution. Overwhelmed with debts and harassed by wants, of an ardent temperament, of licentious morals, and abandoning himself by turns to his passions or his party, he was formidable in his politics when the question was how to arrive at his end, but he became indifferent as soon as it was attained. This powerful demagogue presented a mixture of discordant vices and qualities. Though he had sold himself to the court, he was not mercenary: for there are characters which can elevate even a mean action. He was an exterminator without ferocity; inexorable with regard to the mass, but humane and even generous towards individuals.* A revolution was to him a game,

* At the time when the commune was meditating the massacres of the 2nd September, he saved all who came to him: and of his own accord he discharged from prison, Duport,

in which the conqueror, if he desired it, gained the life of the vanquished. The welfare of his party in his eyes went before the law—even before humanity: this explains his attempts after the 10th August, and his return to moderate measures when he believed the republic firmly established.

At this period the Prussians, advancing in the order of invasion which has been already mentioned, crossed the frontier, after a march of twenty days. The army of Sédan was without a leader, and unable to cope with forces so superior and so well organized. On the 20th August, Longwy was surrounded by the Prussians; on the 21st it was bombarded, and on the 24th it capitulated. On the 30th the enemy arrived before Verdun, surrounded it, and commenced the bombardment. In case of the capture of Verdun, the road to the capital lay open. The taking of Longwy and the near approach of so much danger, threw Paris into a state of the greatest agitation and alarm. The executive council, composed of the ministers, was called to the committee for the general defence, to deliberate on the best measures to be taken in so perilous a conjuncture.

Barnave and Ch. Lameth, who were in some shape his personal antagonists.

Some voted for waiting until the enemy should appear under the walls of the capital: others proposed to retire to Saumur. "You know," said Danton, when his turn came to speak, "that France lies in Paris: if you abandon the capital to our invaders, you give up yourselves, and you give up France to them. It is in Paris that we must maintain our position, by all the means that can be devised; I cannot consent to the plan which proposes to remove you from it. The second project seems to me equally unadvisable. It is impossible to think of fighting under the walls of the capital: the 10th August has divided France into two parties, of which the one is attached to monarchy, while the other desires a republic. The latter of which, it is useless to dissemble, the minority in the state, is the only one on which you can depend when we come to the combat. The other will refuse to march; it will agitate Paris in favour of the foreigners, while your defenders, placed betwixt two fires, are losing their lives in repelling them. If they fail, as it seems to me certain they will, the loss of France and your ruin are decided: if, contrary to all expectation, they return victors over the coalition, their victory will be a defeat to you; for it will have cost you thousands of brave men,

while the royalists, already more numerous than you, will have lost nothing of their strength or their influence. My advice is, therefore, that in order to disconcert their measures, we must *frighten* the royalists. "The committee, which understood the sense of these terrible words, was in consternation. "Yes; I repeat," continued Danton, "that we must frighten them." And as the committee seemed by its silence and its affright to reject the proposition, Danton entered into arrangements with the commune; he wished to repress his enemies by means of terror: and, by engaging the multitude to render itself his accomplice, to leave the revolution no other hope or refuge but in victory. Domiciliary visits were performed with the most melancholy and imposing accompaniments: and a great number of persons were imprisoned, on the ground of their rank, their opinions, or their conduct. These unfortunate persons were mainly selected from the two dissident classes of the clergy and the nobility, who were accused of conspiracy under the legislative assembly. All the citizens who were fit to carry arms were enrolled in regiments in the Champ-de-Mars, and were sent off on the 1st September to the

frontier. The *générale* was beaten, the tocsin sounded, and cannons fired: and Danton, presenting himself to the assembly to detail the measures which had been taken for the preservation of the country, said: "The cannon you hear is not the alarm-gun: it announces our onset upon our enemies. To vanquish them—to lay them prostrate, what is it that we require? The first qualification is *boldness*—the second *boldness*—the third *boldness*." The news of the taking of Verdun arrived in the night between the 1st and 2nd September: the commune seized that moment when Paris, in alarm, fancied the enemy at the gates, to execute its terrible designs. The cannon was again fired, the tocsin sounded, the barriers were closed, and the massacres began.

The prisoners, shut up at the Carmelites, at the Abbey, at La Force, the Conciergerie, &c., were butchered, during three days, by a band of about three hundred murderers, under the orders and in the pay of the commune. These men, inspired by a silent fanaticism, prostituting to the ends of murder the sacred forms of justice, sometimes judges and sometimes executioners, seemed less the

ministers of vengeance than the performers of a labour to be done: they massacred without fury, but without remorse—with all the confidence of fanatics, and the obedience of hangmen. If any extraordinary circumstance sometimes touched them, and recalled them to sentiments of humanity, they relented but for a moment, and soon resumed their cruel work. Thus, some victims were saved, but these were few in number. The assembly wished to put a stop to these cruel massacres, but could not. The ministry was as impotent as the assembly: the terrible commune alone was all-powerful, and directed everything. Pétion the mayor had been deposed from office. The soldiers who guarded the prisoners dared not resist the murderers, and suffered them to do their work of death: the populace looked on as indifferent spectators or accomplices, and the rest of the citizens did not even venture to manifest their horror. There would be room for surprise that a crime so enormous and so long in duration should have been conceived, executed, and permitted, if we did not know all that the policy or fanaticism of parties leads its votaries to commit, and all that fear induces men to support.

But the punishment of that fearful outrage was visited upon the heads of its authors. The greater number of them perished in the tempest they had raised, and by the violent means they had employed. It is seldom that party men do not experience the fate which they have made others undergo.

The executive council, which was directed as to military measures by general Kellermann, sentforward the newly raised battalions to the frontier. They had wished to place an able commanding officer on the point chiefly threatened; but the choice was embarrassing. Among the generals who had declared themselves in favour of the late political events, Kellermann did not appear fit for a higher command than a secondary one, and the council contented itself with putting him in the place of the undecided and inept Luckner. Custine was but little acquainted with the art of war; he was an excellent officer for a bold undertaking, but unfit for the command of a great army, on which the destinies of France were to depend. The same reproach, as to military incapacity, was applicable to Biron, to Labourdonnaie, and to others, who were left in their former ranks with the troops

under their command. There remained only Dumouriez, against whom the Girondists still felt some rancour, and whose ambitious views, whose tastes, and character of adventurer, led him to be suspected, even by those who rendered ample justice to his superior talents. However, as he was the sole general capable of so important a position, the executive council gave him the command of the army of the Moselle.

Dumouriez had hastened from the camp of Maulde to that of Sédan. He assembled a council of war, of which the general opinion was, that it would be advisable to retire towards Châlons or Rheims, and to remain covered by the Marne. Instead of following this dangerous advice, which would have discouraged the army, surrendered Lorraine to the enemy, as well as three bishoprics, with a part of Champagne, and laid open the road to Paris, Dumouriez conceived a project worthy of a man of genius. He saw that he must, by a bold march, direct his troops upon the forest of Argonne, and that there they would infallibly stop the enemy. That forest had four outlets; that of Chêne Populeux on the left, of the Croix aux Bois and

Grandpré in the centre, and of the Islets on the right, which opened or closed the passage into France. The Prussians were at a distance of six leagues only, and Dumouriez had twelve to get over, as well as his plans of occupation to conceal, before he could seize upon his position. He did this in a very bold and able manner. General Dillon, who directed his corps on the Islets, occupied them with seven thousand men: Dumouriez arrived at Grandpré, and there established a camp of thirteen thousand men: the Croix aux Bois and the Chêne Populeux were in like manner taken, and guarded by several troops. On this occasion he wrote to Servan, the minister at war: "*Verdun is taken: I wait the arrival of the Prussians. The camp of Grandpré and that of the Islets are the Thermopylæ of France: but I shall be more fortunate than Leonidas.*"

In that position, Dumouriez was able to stop the enemy, and at the same time await the succours which were sent him from all parts of France. The battalions of volunteers joined the camps pitched in the interior, from which positions they were sent off to join the army of Dumouriez, after having re-

ceived the first elements of organization. At the frontier of Flanders, Beurnonville had received orders to advance with nine thousand men to join the right wing of the army of Dumouriez at Rhetel, on the 13th September. Duval, with seven thousand men, was to be at the Chêne Populeux on the 7th; and Kellermann was on his way from Metz on his right, with twenty-two thousand men to reinforce him. It was only necessary to gain time.

The duke of Brunswick, after gaining possession of Verdun, passed the Meuse in three columns. General Clairfait commenced operations on his right, and the prince of Hohenlohe on his left. Despairing of forcing Dumouriez to quit his position by attacking him in front, he endeavoured to dislodge him from it by assailing him behind. Dumouriez had been so imprudent as to place all his forces at Grandpré and the Islets, and to have left the Chêne Populeux and the Croix aux Bois feebly defended, which indeed were much less important avenues. The Prussians seized them, and were on the point of dislodging him in his camp at Grandpré, and compelling him to surrender. Even after committing that capital error, which annulled the effect of his first manœuvres, he

did not despair of his situation. He quitted his camp during the night of the 14th September, passed the Aisne, from which he might have been prevented by the enemy, made a retreat as able as his march on the Argonne had been, and succeeded in carrying his entire force into the camp of Sainte-Menehoulde. He had already retarded the march of the Prussians on the Argonne; the season as it advanced began to bring bad weather; he had only to maintain his position until the arrival of Kellermann and Beurnonville, by whom he was to be joined, and the success of the campaign became certain. The troops had become accustomed to action, and the army amounted to seventy thousand men on the arrival of Beurnonville and Kellermann, which took place on the 17th

The Prussian army had followed the movements of Dumouriez. On the 20th, it attacked Kellermann at Valmy, in order to cut off from the French army the power of retreating upon Châlons. The cannonading commenced warmly on both sides. The Prussians next marched in columns upon the heights of Valmy, in expectation of carrying them. Kellermann also formed his infantry in columns, and gave

them orders not to fire, but to wait for the enemy that they might charge at the point of the bayonet. He gave these orders amidst cries of "*Vive la nation!*" and this cry, repeated from one end of the line to the other, surprised the Prussians still more than the steady aspect of our troops. The duke of Brunswick directed his battalions, which were already in some disorder, to retire: the cannonading was kept up till evening; the Austrians tried a new attack, but were repulsed. The day was gained: and the almost insignificant success of Valmy produced on our troops, and throughout France, the effect of the most complete victory.

From this period also may be dated the discouragement and retreat of the enemy. The Prussians had engaged in this campaign as if it had been a review, in which light it had been represented to them by the emigrants. They were unprovided with stores or provisions; instead of an unprotected country, they found daily a more and more vigorous resistance: the continual rains had laid open the roads, the soldiers marched in mud up to their knees, and for four days together they had no other nourishment than

boiled corn. The diseases produced by the muddy water, the want of stores, and the rain, had occasioned the greatest ravages in the army. The duke of Brunswick recommended a retreat, against the opinion of the king of Prussia and the emigrants, who wished to risk a battle and seize upon Châlons. But as the fate of the Prussian monarchy depended upon his army, and the loss of that army would be rendered certain by its defeat, the advice of the duke of Brunswick prevailed. Negociations were opened; and the Prussians, relaxing from their first demands, no longer contended for any other terms than the re-establishment of the king upon the constitutional throne. But the convention had just assembled, the republic had been proclaimed, and the executive council replied, that *the French republic could not listen to any propositions until the Prussian troops had entirely quitted the French territories.* The Prussians therefore effected their retreat on the evening of the 30th September, which was feebly opposed by Kellermann, whom Dumouriez sent in pursuit of them, while he himself advanced to Paris to enjoy his victory and to concert plans for the invasion of Belgium. The French

troops re-entered Verdun and Longwy; and the enemy, after having traversed the Ardennes and Luxembourg, repassed the Rhine at Coblentz towards the end of October. This campaign had been marked by general successes. In Flanders the duke of Saxe-Teschen had been compelled to raise the siege of Lille, after seven days bombardment, contrary, for its length and its useless cruelty, to all the usages of war. On the Rhine, Custine had seized upon Trèves, Spire, and Mentz: towards the Alps, general Montesquiou had invaded Savoy, and general Anselme the county of Nice. Our armies, victorious in all quarters, had everywhere assumed the offensive, and the revolution was saved.

If the description of a state which had just arisen from a grand crisis were written, in which it was related that there were in that state an absolute government whose authority had been restrained; two privileged classes which had lost their supremacy; an immense population, which had already freed itself by means of its civilization and its intelligence, but which, having no political rights, was obliged by repeated refusals to conquer them for itself: if it were added—the government, after op-

posing that revolution, has ended by submitting to it, but the privileged classes have constantly opposed it,—the following is the conclusion to which we should come from such data :—

The government will have its regrets, the people their distrust, and the privileged orders will attack the new order of things, each in its own way. The nobility not being able to do so from within, on account of its weakness, will emigrate, in order to raise up foreign powers who will make preparations for an attack : the clergy, who would by emigrating lose their means of action, will remain in the country, where they will stir up enemies against the revolution. The people, threatened from without, and compromised within, irritated against the emigrants who are arming foreigners to attack the country; against those foreigners who would attack their independence, and the clergy who are seeking to rouse up the country, will treat as their enemies at once the clergy, the emigrants, and the foreigners. They will first demand that a careful watch should be held over these refractory priests, and next their banishment; the confiscation of the property of the emi-

grants; and lastly, war against the coalition of Europe. The first authors of the revolution will condemn such of its measures as violate the law: those, on the contrary, who follow them, will only see in such measures the safety of the country, and discord will break out between those who prefer the constitution to the state, and those who prefer the state to the constitution. The monarch, influenced by his interests as king, his attachments, and his conscience, to reject such a system of policy, will seem to be an accomplice in the counter-revolution, because he will appear to protect it. The revolutionists will then attempt to gain the support of the king by intimidating him, and, failing in this endeavour, they will overthrow his power.

Such was the history of the legislative assembly. The internal troubles produced the decree against the priests; the threats of foreign invasion, that against the emigrants: the coalition of foreign powers, the war against Europe, and the first defeat of our armies, that of the camp of twenty thousand men. The refusal on the part of Louis XVI to support these decrees, caused him to be suspected by the Girondists: the divisions

between the latter and the constitutionals, the one of which parties wished to be legislators as in time of peace, the other enemies as in time of war, disunited the partisans of the revolution. On the part of the Girondists, the question of liberty depended on victory, and victory on the decrees. The 20th of June was an attempt to force the acceptance of them; but having failed in its effect, they believed it would be necessary either to renounce the revolution or the throne, which produced the events of the 10th August. Thus, had it not been for the emigration which brought about the war, and the schism which produced the troubles, the king would probably have agreed to the constitution, and the revolutionists would not have been able to establish a republic.

NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CHAPTER VI.

First measures of the convention; manner in which it was composed.—Rivalry of the Girondists and the Mountainists; strength and views of these two parties.—Robespierre; the Girondists accuse him of aiming at the dictatorship.—Marat.—New accusation against Robespierre by Louvet; Robespierre's defence; the convention passes to the order of the day.—The Mountainists, victorious in the struggle, demand the trial of Louis XVI.—Opinions of the parties relative to this.—The convention determines on the trial of Louis XVI, and that he shall be judged by it.—Louis XVI at the Temple; his answers in presence of the convention; his defence; his condemnation; his courage and serenity in his last moments; his qualities and defects as a monarch.

THE convention was formed on the 20th September 1792, and commenced its deliberations on the 21st. In its first sitting it abolished royalty and proclaimed the republic. On the 22nd, it appropriated to itself the revolution, by declaring that it would

no longer date from *the fourth year of liberty*, but from *the first year of the French republic*. After taking these first measures, which were voted with acclamation and a sort of rivalry of democracy and enthusiasm between the two parties, who were divided at the close of the legislative assembly, the convention, instead of commencing its labours, gave itself up to intestine disputes. The Girondists and the Mountainists, before constituting the new revolution, wished to know to which of their parties it was to belong; and even the enormous dangers of their situation could not prevent their mutual struggles. They had more than ever to fear the hostile attempts of Europe. One part of the sovereigns having attacked France before the 10th August, there was every reason to believe that the others would declare themselves against her after the fall of the monarchy, the detention of Louis XVI, and the massacres of September. In the interior, the number of enemies of the revolution had augmented. To the partisans of the ancient régime, of the aristocracy, and the clergy, were now joined those of constitutional royalty, those to whom the fate of Louis XVI was a subject of lively solicitude,

and those who did not believe that unbounded liberty was practicable, especially under the control of the multitude. Amidst so many obstacles and adversaries, at a moment when even their union would not have proved too strong for their opponents, the Girondists and Mountainists attacked each other with the utmost inveteracy. Indeed the two parties were incompatible, and the junction of their chiefs was hopeless; so numerous were the causes of discord arising from their rivalry of power and the opposite nature of their designs.

The Girondists had been forced by events to be republicans. The station which was most suitable to them was that of constitutionals; the uprightness of their intentions, their dislike of the multitude, their repugnance to violent measures, and especially the prudence which recommended only the adoption of such measures as were possible, all combined to rank them in this class; but it was not allowed them to remain what they had at first declared themselves. They had followed the downward slope which led to the establishment of the republic, and they had by degrees become accustomed to that form of

government; and though they still desired it ardently and sincerely, they severely felt the difficulty of establishing and consolidating it. The thing appeared to them grand and splendid; but they saw that the men were wanting. The multitude had neither the intelligence nor the habits fitted to such a mode of administering the public affairs. The revolution brought about by the constituent assembly was still more legitimate, because it was practicable, rather than because it was just: it had its constitution and its citizens. But a new revolution, which called the lower classes to the government of the state, could not be durable; it must necessarily affect too many interests, and could only have momentary defenders; for though the lower class might govern and act well for a time, it could not do so always. However, it was on this class that the party ought to have depended in consenting to this second revolution. The Girondists did not do this, and consequently placed themselves altogether in a false position; they lost the assistance of the constitutionals without gaining that of the democratic party, and thus possessed the voice of neither the higher nor the lower ranks of

society; and formed a half party, which was soon overthrown, because it was without a base. The Girondists after the 10th August stood between the middle class and the multitude, as the Monarchists, or the party of Necker and Mounier, had done after the 14th July between the privileged and middle classes.

The Mountainists, on the contrary, desired a republic which should be directed by the people. The chiefs of their party, offended at the credit which the Girondists enjoyed, endeavoured to overthrow them, and to seat themselves in their place; they were less enlightened and less eloquent, but more sagacious, more decided, and by no means scrupulous in themeans they employed. The very extreme of democracy seemed to them the very best form of government; and what they called the people, that is to say, the lowest class, was the object of their constant flatteries, and of their most ardent solicitude. No party was ever more dangerous or more consistent; it laboured for those at the head of whom it was combating.

At the opening of the conventional sittings, the Girondists occupied the right, and the

Mountainists the top of the left, from whence came the name by which they have been styled. The Girondists were the strongest in the assembly: the elections in the departments had been generally favourable to the party. A great number of the members of the legislative assembly had been re-elected; and all the members who had belonged to the deputation of the Gironde or the commune of Paris, before the 10th August, returned with the same opinions. Others entered the assembly without system, without party, without attachments, and without rancour; these formed what at that time was called the *plain*, or the *marais*. This part of the assembly, which felt no interest in the struggles of the Gironde and the Mountain, ranged itself on the side it considered the most just, as long as it was allowed to be moderate, that is to say, as long as its members had no reasons to fear for their own personal safety.

The Mountain was composed of the deputies of Paris who had been elected under the influence of the commune of the 10th August, and of some very decided republicans in the provinces: it was afterwards strengthened by the addition of all whom the circumstances of

the time exalted into enthusiasm, or whom fear associated with its members. But though inferior in number in the convention, it was not on this account less powerful even at that period. It reigned absolute in Paris; the commune was devoted to it, and that commune had contrived to make itself the first authority in the state. The Mountainists had attempted to govern the other departments of France, by establishing between the municipality of Paris, and the other municipalities throughout the kingdom, a correspondence of plans and conduct; they had not however completely succeeded, and the departments were in a great measure favourable to their adversaries, who cultivated their kindly feelings towards them by means of pamphlets and journals sent through the minister Roland, whose house was styled by the Mountainists, *un bureau d'esprit public,* and his friends, *des intrigants.* But besides the affiliation of the communes, which sooner or later was sure to succeed, the Jacobins were affiliated to them. This club, which was the most influential, as being the oldest and the most general, changed its spirit with every crisis without changing its name;

it was a kind of frame-work, which was all ready for the use of the ruling party, who excluded from it all its opponents. That of Paris was the metropolis of Jacobinism, and governed the others with almost sovereign sway. The Mountainists had a complete mastery over these clubs: they had already banished the Girondists from them by means of denunciations and affronts, and had replaced the members belonging to the middle classes by *sans-culottes*. The only support of the Girondists was the ministry, which, being opposed by the commune, was powerless in Paris. The Mountainists disposed, on the other hand, of all the effective force of the capital; of the public mind by means of the Jacobins, of sections and faubourgs through the *sans-culottes*, and of the insurrections through the municipality.

The first measure of the parties, after having decreed the republic, was to oppose each other. The Girondists were indignant at the massacres of September, and witnessed with horror on the benches of the convention the men who had recommended or commanded them. Two, especially, of the members ex-

cited their horror and disgust; Robespierre, whom they suspected of aspiring to the tyranny, and Marat, who from the commencement of the revolution had declared himself in his writings the apostle of massacre. They denounced Robespierre with more animosity than prudence: he was not yet sufficiently dangerous to incur an accusation of aspiring to the dictatorship. His enemies, by reproaching him with designs which were unlikely to have occurred to him, and which in any case it was impossible to prove, themselves augmented his popularity and his importance.

Robespierre, who aftewards played so terrible a part in the revolution, began now to figure in its principal ranks. Till this time, in spite of all his efforts, he had had superiors in his own party: under the constituent assembly, its famous chiefs: under the legislative, Brissot and Pétion: in the events of the 10th August, Danton. On all these occasions he had constantly declared himself against those whose fame or popularity offended him. Amidst the celebrated personages of the first assembly, being unable to render himself remarkable in any other way than by the singularity of his opinions, he had

figured as a violent reformer: in the second, he appeared as a constitutional, because his rivals were innovators; and he had harangued in favour of peace at the Jacobins' club, because his rivals were clamorous for war. After the 10th of August he endeavoured, in this club, to destroy the Girondist party and to supplant Danton, always associating the cause of his vanity to that of the multitude. This man, whose talents were but of an ordinary kind, and whose disposition was vain, owed to his inferiority his late appearance on the stage, which, in revolutions, is always a great advantage; his ardent self-love kept alive his constant aim at the principal rank in the revolution and led him to work wonders to obtain it, and to venture everything to maintain himself there. Robespierre had all the qualities of a tyrant: a mind which was without grandeur, but which, nevertheless, was not vulgar: the advantage of having but one passion, the external appearances of patriotism, a deserved reputation for being above corruption, an austere life, and an inclination for blood. He was a living proof, that, amidst civil troubles, it is not by means of talents, but conduct, that poli-

tical successes are gained; and that obstinate mediocrity is more powerful than the irregularity of genius. It must also be allowed that Robespierre possessed the support of an immense and fanatical sect, of which he had demanded the government and maintained the principles, since the close of the constituent assembly. That sect derived its origin from the 18th century, of which it represented certain opinions; it took for its political symbol the absolute sovereignty of the *Social Contract* of J.J. Rousseau, and in matters of belief the deism contained in the *Savoyard Vicar's Confession of Faith;* and succeeded for a brief space in realizing them in the constitution of 1793, and in the worship of the *Supreme Being*. There was, indeed, in the various epochs of the revolution more system and more fanaticism than is generally believed.

Whether it was that the Girondists foresaw from afar the rule of Robespierre, or whether they allowed themselves to be seduced by their resentment, they accused him of a crime which is the heaviest that can exist in a republic. Paris was agitated by the spirit of faction: the Girondists wished to carry a law against those who stirred up disorders and

violence, and at the same time give the convention an independant strength gathered from the eighty-three departments; they even charged a commission, which they caused to be named, with the presentation of a report on the subject. The Mountain attacked this measure as injurious to Paris; the Gironde defended it, declaring at the same time that a project of a triumvirate had been formed by the deputation of Paris. "I was born at Paris," said Osselin: "I am a deputy of that city. A party has been announced as having sprung up among us, which wishes for dictators, triumvirs, and tribunes. I assert that such a party must either be profoundly ignorant or utterly wicked, to have conceived such a project. Let our anathema be launched against that part of the deputation of Paris which shall venture to conceive such an idea!" "Yes," cried Rebequi of Marseilles, "yes, there exists in this assembly a party which aspires to the dictatorship, and the chief of that party I shall name—it is Robespierre! Behold the man whom I denounce to you!" Barbaroux supported this denunciation by his testimony: he had been one of the principal actors in the 10th August: he was the

head of the Marseillois, and possessed a prodigious influence in the south. He assured the assembly that at the period of the events of the 10th August, the assistance of the Marseillois being sought by both of the parties who then divided the capital, he had been brought to Robespierre; that there he had been recommended to join those citizens who had acquired the greatest share of popularity, and that Panis had pointedly indicated Robespierre by name, *as the virtuous man who was one day to be the dictator of France.* Barbaroux was a man of energy. The right side possessed several members who agreed with him in opinion that it was absolutely necessary either to vanquish their adversaries, or to submit to be vanquished by them: they wished that in making use of the convention against the commune, the departments should be opposed to Paris; and that no measures should be kept with enemies who were then weak, but who, if time were allowed them, might become strong: however, the majority dreaded a rupture, and was opposed to such decided measures.

The accusation against Robespierre was unattended by any consequences, but it fell

back upon Marat, who had recommended the dictatorship in his newspaper called the *Friend of the People*, and extolled the massacres. When he appeared in his place to justify himself, the assembly seemed to feel a movement of horror: *Down! Down!* was shouted from all parts. Marat remained unmoved. In an interval of silence he cried—"I have in this assembly a great number of personal enemies."—"*We are all so! All!*"—"I call the assembly to show some sense of shame. I exhort its members to refrain from these furious clamours and indecent menaces against a man who has served them and the cause of liberty more than they imagine: let them at least listen for once!" This man then explained to the convention, which listened as if stupified by his boldness and coolness, his opinions relative to the proscriptions and the dictatorship. For a long time he had succeeded in avoiding the public animadversion and the orders of arrest which had been published against him. His sanguinary publications alone appeared, in which he demanded the heads of individuals, and prepared the multitude for the massacres of September. There is no kind of folly which may not come

into the head of a man, and what is worse, which may not be for a moment realized. Marat had several ideas which were unalterable. The revolution had its enemies, and, according to him, in order to insure its duration, these were to be destroyed; he thought no means more obvious than to exterminate them, and to name a dictator, whose functions should be limited to proscription; he preached openly these two doctrines, without cruelty, but with an air of cynicism equally regardless of the rules of decency and the lives of men, and despising as weak-minded all who styled his projects atrocious instead of regarding them as profound. The revolution has numbered among its actors many more atrocious than he, but none exercised a more fatal influence upon the period in which he lived; he depraved the morals of the existing parties, which were already sufficiently lax, and to him were owing the two ideas which the committee for the public safety realized at a later period, through its commissaries or its government—the extermination of multitudes, and the dictatorship.

The accusation against Marat led to no consequences, any more than that against

Robespierre; the former inspired more disgust, but less hatred than the latter: some regarded him merely as a madman; others considered these debates but as party quarrels, and not as objects of interest for the republic. Besides, it appeared dangerous to attempt the purification of the convention, or to issue a decree against one of its members: it was a delicate step to take. Danton did not disculpate Marat. "I do not love him," said he: "I have had experience of his temper, which is furious, peevish and unsocial. But why should we seek in his writings the language of a faction? Is the general agitation to be ascribed to any other cause than the movement of the revolution?" Robespierre asserted on his side that he knew very little of Marat; that previously to the 10th August he had held only a single conversation with him, after which Marat, of whose violent opinions he did not approve, had found his political views so narrow, as to have published in his journal, *that he had neither the views nor the boldness of a statesman.*

But it was himself who was the object of general attack, because he was far more dreaded. The first accusation of Rebecqui

and of Barbaroux had failed. A short time after, the minister Roland published a report on the state of France, and on that of Paris, in which he condemned the massacres of September, the encroachments of the commune, and the intrigues of the agitators. "When the wisest and most intrepid defenders of our liberty," said he, "are rendered odious or suspected; when principles of revolt and carnage are openly professed and applauded in our assemblies, and when clamours are raised against the convention itself, I cannot doubt that partisans of the old régime, or false friends of the people, concealing their madness or their wickedness under the mask of patriotism, have conceived the plan of overthrowing the actual system of things, in hopes of raising themselves upon its ruins and our corpses, and of tasting the savour of blood, of gold, and of cruelty!" He quoted, as a confirmation of his report, a letter, in which the vice-president and the second section of the civil tribunal informed him, that he and the most illustrious members of the Girondist party were threatened; that according to the expression of their enemies, *there must be yet another bleeding*, and that these men would hear of no one but Robespierre.

At these words the latter flew to the tribune to justify himself. "*No one*," said he, "*will dare to accuse me to my face.*"—"*I will*," cried Louvet, one of the most resolute men of the Girondist party. "*Yes, Robespierre*," continued he, regarding him fixedly; "*it is I who accuse thee!*" Robespierre, whose countenance had till then been firm, was now moved: he had once measured his powers at the Jacobins with this redoubtable adversary, whom he knew to be clever, impetuous, and regardless of consequences. Louvet immediately addressed the assembly, and in an eloquent extempore speech, he spared neither the acts nor the names of his opponent's partisans: he followed Robespierre to the Jacobins, to the commune, and to the electoral assembly, where he represented him as "calumniating the most virtuous patriots; offering the basest flatteries to a few hundred citizens, first called "the people of Paris," then absolutely, "the people," next, "the sovereign people;" repeating the eternal enumeration of his own merits, his perfections, and his virtues, and never failing, after he had proclaimed the strength, the greatness, and the sovereignty of the people, to protest that he was *the people*

also." He described him as hiding himself on the 10th August, and afterwards commanding the conspirators of the commune. He then came to the massacres of September, and cried out, "The revolution of the 10th August belongs to us all." He next added, addressing himself to some Mountainists of the commune, "But the revolution of the 2nd September is yours! it is yours only! and have you not taken the glory of it to yourselves? They themselves, with ferocious contempt, styled us but the patriots of the 10th August! With ferocious pride they dignified themselves with the title of patriots of the 2nd September! Well, let that distinction remain to them; a distinction worthy of the courage peculiar to them! let it remain to them for our lasting justification, and for their eternal disgrace! These pretended friends of the people wished to throw upon the people the horrors with which the first week of September was sullied. They have unworthily calumniated them: the people of Paris know how to fight, but they know not how to assassinate! They were, indeed, seen in a body before the palace of the Tuileries on the grand day of the 10th August;

but it is false that they were seen before the prisons on the horrible day of the 2nd September. Within their walls, how many executioners were there? Two hundred, perhaps not even two hundred; and without them, how many spectators might be counted, attracted by a truly incomprehensible curiosity? The double at most of that number. But it is said, if the people did not participate in these murders, why did it not prevent them? Why? because the tutelary authority of Pétion was chained up, and Roland spoke in vain: because the minister of justice, Danton, spake not at all: because the presidents of the forty-eight sections expected requisitions, which the commandant-general did not issue: because the municipal officers, arrayed in their official scarfs, presided at these atrocious executions.—But the legislative assembly!—The legislative assembly! Representatives of the people, ye will avenge it! The impotency to which your predecessors were reduced, is, even amidst so many crimes, the greatest of those for which we must punish the ferocious madmen whom I denounce to you." Then returning to Robespierre, Louvet represented his ambition,

his intrigue, and his extreme ascendancy over the populace, and concluded this furious philippic by a series of facts, each preceded by the redoubtable formula—"*Robespierre, I accuse thee!*"

Louvet descended from the tribune amidst loud applauses; and Robespierre rose to defend himself, pale and assailed with murmurs. Whether from his confusion, or from dread of the prejudice which his adversary's harangue might have excited, he demanded a delay of eight days. At the end of that time, he appeared, less as an accused person than as a triumphant antagonist: he repelled with irony the reproaches of Louvet, and entered into a long apology for his own conduct. It must be allowed that the facts were vague; he had therefore little difficulty in extenuating or disproving them. The galleries were prepared to applaud him: and the convention itself, which saw in the accusation but a personal quarrel, and which was not afraid, to use an expression of Barrère's, of "*the man of a day, a small undertaker of tumults,*" was disposed to put an end to these debates. Accordingly when Robespierre said in conclusion—"For my part, I shall adopt no personal measures:

I have renounced the obvious advantage of replying to the calumnies of my adversaries by more redoubtable denunciations: I have therefore chosen to suppress the offensive part of my justification: I renounce the vengeance with which I should have had a just right of pursuing my adversaries: I ask no other revenge than the return of peace, and the triumph of liberty!"—he was applauded, and the convention passed to the order of the day. In vain would Louvet have replied, the assembly refused to hear him: Barbaroux also proposed himself as an accuser, and Lanjuinais opposed the order of the day without succeeding in renewing the discussion. The Girondists themselves supported it: they had committed a fault in permitting the accusation, and they committed another in not maintaining it. The Mountainists gained the day, since they were not conquered, and Robespierre was brought nearer the performance of the part from which he was still so far distant. A man very soon becomes, in revolutions, what he is believed to be: and the Mountainist party took him for its chief, because the Girondist attacked him as such.

But what was still more important than

these personal attacks, was the discussion on the means of government, and on the management of the authorities and of parties. The Girondists failed, not only against individuals, but against the commune. None of their measures succeeded; they were either ill proposed or badly seconded. They ought to have reinforced the government, replaced the municipality, maintained their popularity among the Jacobins and governed them, gained the multitude or prevented it from acting, and they did nothing of all this. One of their number, Buzot, proposed to give the convention a guard of three thousand men, drawn from the departments. This proposal, which would have at all events preserved the independence of the assembly, was not warmly enough supported to be adopted. Thus the Girondists attacked the Mountainists without being able to weaken them; the commune, without subjecting it; and the faubourgs, without annulling them. They irritated Paris by calling in the assistance of the departments, without after all obtaining it: thus acting against the rules of the most ordinary prudence.

Their adversaries profited ably by this cir-

cumstance. They secretly spread a report which could not fail to compromise the Girondists: this was that they wished to transport the republic to the south, and abandon the rest of the empire. Upon this began the reproach of federalism which was afterwards so fatal. The Girondists despised it, because they did not see all its dangers: but it was necessarily accredited, as their party became feebler, and their enemies more audacious. What had given room for this opinion was the project to defend the country behind the Loire, and to transfer the government to the south, in case the north was invaded and Paris forced: and next, the predilection which they discovered for the provinces, and their fury against the agitators of the capital. Nothing is easier than to disfigure and pervert a measure, by changing the time at which it was first conceived, or to find in expressions of disapprobation against the disorders of a city, a design to league against it all the other cities of the state. Accordingly, the Girondists were exhibited to the multitude as federalists. While they were denouncing the commune, and accusing Robespierre and Marat, the Mountainists caused *the unity and*

indivisibility of the republic to be decreed: this was one method of attacking them, and bringing down suspicion upon their party, though they supported these propositions with so much eagerness, that they appeared to regret not having themselves originated them.

But a circumstance apparently foreign to the debates of both parties, was still more favourable to the Mountainists. Encouraged as they already were by the failure of the attempts against them made by their antagonists, they waited only for an opportunity to become assailants in their turn. The convention was wearied with these long discussions: those of its members whom they did not concern, those even, in the two parties who did not occupy the principal ranks, felt the necessity of concord, and desired that all should occupy themselves with the affairs of the republic. There was an apparent truce, and the attention of the assembly was for a moment arrested by the new constitution, from which the Mountainist party diverted it, in order to decide on the fate of the dethroned prince. To this the chiefs of the extreme left were induced by several motives: they did

not wish that the Girondists and the moderate party of the *plain* who directed the constitutional committee, the one party through Pétion, Condorcet, Brissot, Vergniaud, and Gensonné; and the other through Barrére, Sièyes, and Thomas Paine, should organize the republic. They would have established the government of the middle classes, only rendering it somewhat more democratic than that of 1791, while they, on the contrary, aspired to erect the mob into the governing power. But they could only arrive at their end by gaining the ascendancy, and this they could only obtain by prolonging the revolutionary state of France. Besides the necessity of preventing the establishment of legal order by a terrible stroke of policy, such as the condemnation of Louis XVI, which should move all passions, and rally round them all the violent partisans, by showing them to be the faithful guardians of the republic, they hoped to draw out the sentiments of the Girondists, who did not conceal their wish to save Louis XVI, and thus to ruin them in the opinion of the mob. There were doubtless a great number of the Mountainists who on this occasion acted from the most honest motives,

and purely as republicans, in whose eyes Louis XVI appeared criminal as far as regarded the revolution: a dethroned king was dangerous to a rising democracy. But this party would have shown itself more merciful, if its views had not extended to the destruction of the Gironde, as well as to that of Louis XVI.

For some time past the public mind had been prepared for the trial of the king. The Jacobin club re-echoed with invectives against him: reports the most injurious to his character were spread: and his condemnation was demanded as a security for liberty. The popular societies of the departments addressed the convention to the same effect: the sections presented themselves at the bar of the assembly, and men who had been wounded on the 10th August were marched into the midst of the members, crying for vengeance on *Louis Capet*. Louis XVI was no longer indicated but by the surname of the ancient head of his race: his title of king was intended to be replaced by his family name.

Both party motives and popular animosity were united against that unfortunate prince. Those who two months before would have re-

jected the idea of subjecting him to any other punishment than dethronement, were now plunged into a state of apathy: so speedily in such a crisis do people lose their right of holding an opinion! The discovery of the iron chest above all redoubled the fanaticism of the multitude, and increased the weakness of the defenders of the king. After the 10th August, there were found, in the offices of the civil list, papers proving the secret relations kept up by Louis XVI with the malcontent priests, the emigrants, and the powers of Europe. In a report drawn up by order of the legislative assembly, he had been accused of attempting to betray the state and overthrow the revolution. He was reproached with having written on the 16th April 1791, to the bishop of Clermont, that *if he recovered his former power, he would re-establish the ancient government in its former state;*—to have proposed the war only to accelerate the march of his liberators;—to have corresponded with men who wrote to him in this strain: "War will force all the powers to join against the factious and wicked men who now tyrannize over France, in order that their punishment may serve as an example to all those who

may be tempted to trouble the peace of empires. You may count on one hundred and fifty thousand men, composed of Prussians, Austrians, and Imperials, and on an army of twenty thousand emigrants;"—to have been in reality in accordance with his brothers, whose conduct he affected publicly to disapprove: and lastly, to have constantly opposed the revolution.

New proofs were brought in support of all these accusations. There was found at the Tuileries, behind a panel of wainscot, a hole bored in the wall, and closed by an iron door. This secret place was pointed out to the minister Roland, and in it were found a detail of all the plots and intrigues of the court against the revolution; projects tending to strengthen the constitutional power of the king with the popular chiefs, and to bring back the old *régime* with the aristocrats: the manœuvres of Talon, the arrangements with Mirabeau, the accepted propositions of Bouillé, and some new intrigues framed under the legislative. This discovery enhanced the general fury against Louis XVI. The bust of Mirabeau was broken in pieces at the Jacobins, and the convention hid with a

cloth that which stood in the hall where its sittings were held.

There had been doubts in the assembly for some time, whether the prince could be tried; and whether having been dethroned, he could be any farther pursued. There was no tribunal which could pronounce sentence upon him, no kind of punishment which could be inflicted: accordingly false interpretations were resorted to, of the inviolability which had been accorded to Louis XVI, in order to condemn him in a legal manner. The greatest error of parties, after that of being unjust, is that of not wishing to seem so. The committee of legislation, charged with a report on the question whether Louis XVI could be tried, and tried by the convention, pronounced in the affirmative. The deputy Mailhe raised his voice against the opinion of his inviolability: but as this opinion had governed the preceding epoch of the revolution, he pretended that Louis XVI had been inviolable as king, but not as a private individual. He maintained that the nation, which could not lose his guarantee to acts of power, had supplied the inviolability of the monarch by the responsibility of his ministers; but that

where Louis XVI had acted as a private individual, his responsibility falling upon no one, he ceased to be inviolable. Mailhe thus limited the constitutional safeguard, accorded to Louis XVI, to his acts as king. He decided that Louis XVI might be tried, his dethronement not being a punishment, but merely a change of government;—that he should be judged in virtue of the law in the penal code *relative to traitors and conspirators*; lastly, that he should be tried by the convention, without following the procedure of other tribunals; because the convention representing the people, the people comprehending the interests of all classes, and the interests of all being justice, it was impossible that the national tribunal could violate justice, and of course useless that it should be subjected to its forms. Such was the chain of sophisms by means of which the committee transformed the convention into a tribunal. The party of Robespierre showed itself much more consistent, in urging only reasons of state, and rejecting forms as illusory.

The discussion commenced on the 13th November, six days after the report of the committee. The partisans of the king's in-

violability, though they considered Louis XVI as guilty, maintained that he could not be tried. The principal among these was Morisson: he asserted that the inviolability was general; that the constitution had provided for much more than the secret hostilities of Louis XVI—for an open attack on his part—and even in this case had decreed only his dethronement; that the nation had thus, as it were, made him pledge his sovereignty; that the duty of the convention was to change the government, and not to try Louis XVI; that, withheld by rules of justice, it was so also by the usages of war, which did not allow an enemy to be destroyed after the victory, but only during the combat; that besides, the republic had no interest in the condemnation of Louis XVI; that it ought to confine itself to ordaining measures of security with regard to him, to keep him a prisoner, or to banish him from France. This opinion was that of the right side of the convention. The Plain shared the opinion of the committee; but the Mountainists at once denied the inviolability, and rejected the trial of Louis XVI.

"Citizens," said Saint-Just; "I undertake to prove that the opinion of Morisson, who

believes in the inviolability of the king, and that of the committee, who require him to be judged as a citizen, are equally wrong. I maintain that the king should be judged as an enemy; that our business is not so much to try him as to oppose him: that standing for nothing in the contract which unites Frenchmen, the forms of procedure are not in the civil law, but in the law of the right of nations; that delays and consideration are in this case a real imprudence; and that, after the fault of retarding the moment for giving us laws, the most fatal would be that which should lead us to temporize with the king." Then referring the whole question to considerations of enmity and policy, Saint-Just added: "The same men who are about to judge Louis, have a republic to form;—those who attach any importance to the just chastisement of a king, will never found a republic. Citizens, if the Roman people, after six hundred years of virtue and of hatred to kings; if Great Britain, after the death of Cromwell, saw kings revive notwithstanding the energy of its people, what ought not to be feared among us by all good citizens and friends of liberty, at seeing the axe tremble in your

hands, and a people forced, in the very first day of its freedom, to respect the remembrance of its chains!"

This sanguinary party, which wished to replace the king's sentence by a violent state manœuvre, and instead of adhering to law or its forms, to punish Louis XVI like a vanquished prisoner, and make hostilities survive even after victory, formed a very small minority in the convention; but out of doors it was powerfully supported by the Jacobins and the commune. In spite of the terror it already inspired, its murderous counsels were rejected by the convention, and the partisans of inviolability insisted courageously, in their turn, upon the grounds of the general interest, at the same time that they urged the rules of justice and humanity. They maintained, that the same men could not be both judges and legislators, accusers and jury. They wished, moreover, that a lustre should be shed over the rising republic, derived from those great virtues, generosity and forgiveness; they wished to follow the example of the people of Rome, who conquered their liberty for themselves, and kept it five hundred years, because they showed themselves magnanimous; because

they banished the Tarquins, instead of putting them to death. On political grounds, they showed the consequences of the king's condemnation as regarded the anarchist party, who would thus be rendered more audacious, and as regarded Europe, that the powers who were then neuter, would thereby be forced to join the coalition against the republic.

But Robespierre, who during this long pleading discovered a boldness and an obstinacy which presaged from afar his future power, appeared in the tribune to support the opinion of Saint-Just; to reproach the convention with having again rendered doubtful what the insurrection had decided, and with attempting, by the pity a defence would excite, and the publicity it would occasion, to raise the fallen royalist party. "The assembly," said Robespierre, "has been seduced, unknown to itself, from the real question before us. Here there is no trial contemplated; Louis is not accused, and you are not his judges; you are, and only can be, statesmen. You have not to pronounce a sentence for or against a man, but you have a measure of public safety to adopt, an act of national care to undertake. A dethroned king in a republic

can only do two things—either he troubles the tranquillity of the state, and endangers its liberty, or he adds security to both.

"Louis was king; the republic is founded; the great question which occupies you is decided in these few words,—Louis is not to be tried; he has been tried already: he is condemned, or the republic is not absolute." He demanded that the convention should declare Louis XVI *a traitor to the French, guilty towards humanity, and condemn him forthwith to death in virtue of the insurrection.*

The Mountainists, through their violent propositions, and the popularity which they had out of doors, rendered the king's condemnation in some measure inevitable. By making an extraordinary advance before the other parties, they forced the latter to follow them, though at a distance. The constitutional majority, composed of a large part of the Girondists, who durst not venture to pronounce Louis XVI inviolable, and of the Plain, decided on the motion of Pétion, and against the opinion of the fanatical Mountainists and that of the partisans of inviolability, that Louis XVI should be judged by the convention.

Robert Lindet then made his report respect-

ing Louis XVI, in the name of the commission of twenty-one; the declaratory of the crimes imputed to him was prepared, and the convention ordered the prisoner to the bar. Louis had been shut up at the Temple upwards of four months: he did not enjoy his liberty there, as originally contemplated by the legislative assembly, when it assigned him the Luxembourg for his residence. The distrustful commune guarded him strictly; but he was resigned to his fate, and prepared himself for the worst, discovering neither impatience, regret, nor resentment. He had no other attendant but a single servant, Cléry, who was at the same time the attendant of all his family. During the first months of his detention, he had not been separated from the latter, and he experienced some consolation from the society of his family: he encouraged and consoled his wife and sister; he officiated as preceptor to the young Dauphin, and showed him the example of the behaviour of a man in misfortune, and an imprisoned sovereign. He read a great deal, and particularly in the History of England by Hume: he there found many instances of deposed kings, and one among others condemned by the

multitude. It is very natural for us to seek for fates similar to our own. But the consolations he found in the society of his family were not of long duration: he was separated from them as soon as the question of his trial was agitated. The commune wished to prevent the prisoners from concerting together their justification; and the *surveillance* exercised towards Louis XVI became every day more exact and more severe.

In the meanwhile Santerre received orders to conduct Louis XVI to the bar of the convention. He went to the Temple, accompanied by the mayor, who communicated to the king his mission, and asked if he would consent to go down to the convention. Louis hesitated a moment, and then said, "This is only another piece of violence; to this also I must yield." Accordingly he resolved to appear before the convention, whose power he did not refuse to acknowledge, as Charles I did that of his judges. As soon as his approach was announced, "Representatives," said Barrère, "you are now about to exercise the right of national justice; let your manner be conformable to your new functions." Then turning towards the tribunes, "Citizens,"

said he, "remember the terrible silence which accompanied Louis when he was brought back from Varennes—a silence which was the precursor of the judgment of kings by the nations." The countenance of Louis, on entering the hall, was firm and manly, and he looked round upon the assembly with an air of resolution. As he stood at the bar, the president said to him, with a faltering voice, "Louis, the French nation accuses you: you are now about to hear the reading of the act declaratory of the charges. Louis, sit down." A seat had been placed for him; he sat down. During this long interrogatory, he discovered great calmness and presence of mind. He replied to each question with readiness, and generally in a touching and triumphant manner. He replied to the reproaches addressed to him relative to his conduct anterior to the 14th July, by reminding the assembly that his power was not then limited;—before the journey to Varennes, by the decree of the constituent assembly, which had declared itself satisfied with his answers;—lastly, before the 10th August, by throwing the responsibility of all the public acts upon the ministers, and denying all the secret intrigues which had

been attributed to him. These denials did not destroy, in the eyes of the convention, facts of which the greater number were proved by papers in the handwriting, or bearing the signature of Louis; but he made use of the right which is common to every accused person. It was on this principle that he denied the existence of the iron chest, and of all the papers which had been presented to him. Louis XVI appealed to a law of safeguard, which the convention did not acknowledge, and the convention wished to assure itself of the counter-revolutionary attempts, which Louis XVI refused to avow.

When Louis XVI returned to the Temple, the convention debated on the demand he had made of a defender. It was in vain that some Mountainists opposed the motion; the convention determined that Louis XVI should have a counsel. He himself had mentioned Target and Tronchet: the former refused. It was then that the venerable Malesherbes offered himself to the convention to defend Louis XVI. "I have been twice called" (wrote Malesherbes) "to be counsel to him who was once my master, at a time when these functions were ambitiously sought by

every one;—I owe him the same service when these functions are considered dangerous by many." His demand was acceded to. Louis XVI, in his state of abandonment, was touched by this proof of devotion to his cause. When Malesherbes entered his chamber, he went up to him, embraced him, and said, "The sacrifice you make for me is so much the more generous, as you expose your own life without a chance of saving mine." Malesherbes and Tronchet busied themselves with his defence uninterruptedly, and joined to their number M. Desèze. They endeavoured to reanimate the king's courage, but they found him very little disposed to hope. "They will take my life; of that I am sure: but no matter; let us busy ourselves with our process as if I were sure of gaining it: indeed, I shall gain it; for the memory I leave behind me will be spotless."

At length the day for the defence arrived. The speech was pronounced by M. Desèze. Louis was present; the utmost silence reigned in the assembly and in the galleries. M. Desèze urged in favour of the accused monarch all the considerations of justice and innocence. He urged the inviolability which had been

accorded to the king. He insisted that, as a king, he could not be tried; and that, as accusers, the representatives of the people could not be his judges. In this he advanced nothing which had not been maintained by a part of the assembly. But he principally directed the attention of the audience to the justification of Louis XVI, and attributed to him intentions that were constantly pure and irreproachable. He ended by these closing and solemn words: "Listen first to History, who will say to Fame—Louis, who ascended the throne at the age of twenty, carried with him there an example of morals, of justice, and of economy: he had no weaknesses, no corrupting passions, and he was the constant friend of the people. The people desired that a disastrous impost should be abolished, and Louis abolished it: the people asked for the abolition of servitudes, and Louis destroyed them: they demanded reforms, he consented to them: they wished to change the laws by which they were governed, he agreed to their demands: the people required that some millions of Frenchmen should recover their rights, and these he rendered to them; the people asked for liberty, and he gave it to them. No one can

dispute that Louis had the glory of preventing the demands of his people by making these sacrifices; and he it is whom it has been proposed to . . . Citizens, I cannot go on; I pause before History: remember that History will judge your judgment, and that her's will be that of ages to come!" But the passions of the assembly were deaf, and incapable of all foresight.

The Girondists were desirous of saving Louis XVI, but they dreaded the reproach of *royalism*, which already began to be addressed to them by the Mountainists. During the whole trial, their conduct was extremely wavering, they neither ventured to pronounce for or against the accused, and their indecision ruined themselves without serving him. At this moment his cause, which was no longer the cause of his throne but of his life, was their own. It was to be decided by an act of justice, or by an act of violence, whether the nation should return to the legal régime, or whether the revolutionary system were to be prolonged. The triumph of the Girondists, or the Mountainists, depended on the solution of this question. The latter made great efforts. They pretended that the following of

forms was to give up the energy which should be displayed by a republic, and that the defence of Louis XVI was a monarchical lecture addressed to the nation. The Jacobins seconded them powerfully, and deputations came to the bar of the convention to demand the death of the king.

In the mean time the Girondists, who had not ventured to maintain the king's inviolability, proposed a dexterous measure for preventing the execution of Louis XVI, by appealing from the sentence of the convention to the people. The extreme right still continued to protest against the erection of the assembly into a tribunal. But the competence of the convention having been previously decided on, all efforts were turned in another direction. Sallés proposed to declare Louis XVI guilty, and to leave to the primary assemblies the application of the punishment. Buzot, fearing that in this way the convention would incur the reproach of weakness, was of opinion that it should itself pronounce the sentence, and appeal to the people from its own judgment. This advice was strongly opposed by the Mountainists, and even by a large number of moderate Constitutionals, who

foresaw in the convocation of the primary assemblies all the horrors of a civil war. The assembly had unanimously voted Louis XVI guilty; when the question of appeal to the people was suggested, 284 voted for, and 424 against it: 10 refused to vote. The next question was the terrible one of the punishment to be inflicted. Paris was in the highest state of agitation: the deputies were threatened even at the doors of the assembly: new popular excesses were looked for, and the club of the Jacobins echoed even to furious invective against Louis XVI and the party of the right. The Mountainist party, till then the weakest in the assembly, endeavoured to obtain a majority by means of terror; equally decided, nevertheless, if they did not succeed, to sacrifice Louis XVI. At length, after forty hours of nominal appeal, the president Vergniaud said, "Citizens, I have now to proclaim the result of the scrutiny. When justice has spoken, humanity ought to be heard in turn." There were 721 voters. The absolute majority was 361. Sentence of death was pronounced by a majority of 26 votes. The opinions had been mixed: the Girondists had voted for sentence of death—with a provision

of delay, indeed : the greater number of members on the right had voted for his imprisonment or exile ; and some Mountainists voted with the Girondists. As soon as the result of the scrutiny was known, the president said, with an accent of grief—"*I declare in the name of the convention that the punishment it decides against Louis Capet is death.*" His defenders appeared at the bar, and seemed deeply moved. They endeavoured to recall the assembly to sentiments of pity, in consideration of the small number of voices by which he was condemned. But the question had been already discussed, and decided. "*Laws are framed only by means of a simple majority,*" said a Mountainist. "*Yes,*" said a voice; "*but decrees may be reformed, and the life of a man can never be recalled.*" Malesherbes wished to speak, but could not. His sobs stifled his voice, and the only words that were audible were broken and imploring. His grief touched the assembly. The Girondists now called for delay, as a last resource ; but they failed in this also, and the fatal sentence was pronounced.

Louis expected this. When Malesherbes came in tears to announce to him his sentence

of death, he found him sitting in darkness, his elbows resting on the table, and in a state of profound meditation. At the sound he made in entering, Louis XVI rose, and said, "For the last two hours I have been endeavouring to discover whether during my reign I could ever accuse myself of deserving from my subjects the slightest reproach. Well, M. de Malesherbes, I swear to you, in all sincerity of heart and as a man about to appear before God, that I have constantly desired the welfare of my people, and never formed a wish that was contrary to their happiness." Malesherbes endeavoured to persuade him that the delay required would not be refused, but Louis would not yield to the hope. He begged Malesherbes, as he was retiring, not to abandon him in his last moments; Malesherbes promised to return, and did return several times, without ever being able to obtain admission to his presence. Louis asked frequently for him, and was grieved that he could not see him again. He received, without emotion, the news of his sentence, which was signified to him by the minister of justice. He asked three days to prepare himself for

appearing before God; he required besides to be assisted by a priest, whom he named, and to communicate freely with his wife and children. The two latter demands only were agreed to.

The moment of the interview was terrible for that unfortunate family; and that of their separation still more so. Louis, on quitting them, promised to see them again next day; but on entering his chamber, he felt that the trial was too great for him, and as he walked about the room he said to himself—"*I shall not go.*" This was his last struggle: he afterwards thought of nothing but his preparations for death. On the night preceding his execution, he had a peaceful slumber. On being awaked at five o'clock by Cléry, to whom he had given orders to that effect, he made his last testament. He received the communion, charged Cléry with his last words, and with all that he was allowed to dispose of by will—a ring, a seal, and some hair. Already the drums began to beat, and a confused sound of cannons dragged along, and human voices were heard. At length Santerre arrived. "*You are come for me,*" said Louis; "*I*

only require a moment." He then gave his will to a municipal officer, asked for his hat, and said, in a firm tone of voice, "*Let us go.*"

The carriage took an hour to go from the Temple to the square of the Revolution. A double line of soldiers guarded the road, and more than 4000 men were under arms. Paris was in gloom. Among the citizens present at the execution, there were neither signs of approbation nor regret apparent: all were silent. On their arrival at the place of execution, Louis descended from the carriage. He mounted, with a firm step, the ladder of the scaffold, and received on his knees the blessing of the priest, who then said to him, as it is generally believed: "*Son of St Louis, ascend to heaven!*" He allowed his hands to be tied, though with some reluctance; and turning to the left of the scaffold—"I die innocent," said he; "I forgive my enemies: and you, unfortunate people, ..." At this moment the signal for the drums to beat was given; the sound of their roll drowned his voice, and the three executioners seized him. At ten minutes past ten he had ceased to exist.

Thus perished, at the age of thirty-nine, after a reign of sixteen years and a half, passed

in endeavouring to do good, the best, but weakest, of monarchs! The revolution was an inheritance bequeathed to him by his ancestors. He was more fitted than any of those who preceded him, to prevent or terminate it; for he was capable of being a reformer before it broke out, or of being a constitutional monarch after it. He is perhaps the only prince who, in the absence of all other passions, had not even that of power; and who united the two qualities of a good king—the love of God and the love of his people. He perished, the victim of passions which he did not share; of the passions of those about him, to which he was a stranger; and those of the multitude, which he had not excited. There are few kings who have left behind them so excellent a memory; and history will say of him, that, with a little more strength of mind, he would have been the model of a king.

CHAPTER VII.

The political and military situation of France.—England, Holland, Spain, Naples, and all the circles of the Empire agree to the coalition.—Dumouriez, after the conquest of Belgium, attempts an expedition into Holland.—He endeavours to re-establish the constitutional monarchy.—Reverses of our armies.—Struggles of the Mountainists and Girondists.—Conpsiracy of the 10th March.—Insurrection in La Vendée, and its progress.—Defection of Dumouriez.—The Girondists are accused of being his accomplices.—New conspiracies against them.—Establishment of the commission of twelve to undo the plans of the conspirators.—Insurrections of the 27th and 31st May, against the commission of twelve.—It is suppressed.—Insurrection of the 2nd June against the twenty-two principal Girondists.—They are arrested.—The entire defeat of that party.

The death of Louis XVI rendered the parties irreconcileable, and augmented the external enemies of the revolution. The republicans had to combat all Europe, to struggle with the numerous classes of malcontents, and with one another. But the Mountainists, who then directed the popular movements,

believed themselves already too deeply engaged not to carry things to extremities. To terrify the enemies of the revolution; to excite the fanaticism of the populace by harangues, by the presence of dangers, and by insurrections; to trust everything to the mob, both the government and the safety of the republic; to communicate to it the most ardent enthusiasm, *in the name of liberty, of equality, and of fraternity;* to preserve it in this violent state of crisis, in order that they might avail themselves of its passions and its strength: such was the plan of Danton, and of the Mountainists, who had elected him as their chief. It was he who augmented the popular effervescence along with the growing dangers of the republic, and who established, under the name of revolutionary government, in place of true liberty, the despotism of the multitude. Robespierre and Marat went still farther, and attempted to erect into a durable government, what Danton had only regarded as a transitory one. The latter was only a political chief, whereas the others were genuine sectaries, of whom the first was ambitious, the other fanatical.

The Mountainists by the catastrophe of

the 21st January had obtained a great victory over the Girondists, who had a system of politics far more rigid than their own, and who wished to save the revolution without staining it with blood. But their humanity and their spirit of justice were useless, or rather injurious to them. They were accused of being enemies to the people, because they raised their voice against their excesses; with being *accomplices of the tyrant*, because they wished to save Louis XVI; and with betraying the republic, because they recommended moderation. It was with these reproaches that the Mountainists pursued them even into the midst of the convention, from the 21st January to the 31st May, and the 2nd June. The Girondists were for a long time supported by the centre, which ranged itself on the side of the party of the right against the murders and the anarchy prevailing, and on the left as far as regarded measures of public safety. This mass, which, properly speaking, formed the spirit of the convention, displayed some courage, and balanced the power of the Mountain and the commune, as long as it possessed among its members the intrepid and eloquent

Girondists, who carried with them into their prisons and upon the scaffold all the firmness and the generous sentiments of the assembly to which they belonged.

There was at one time a momentary accordance among the various parties of the assembly. Lepelletier Saint Fargeau was poignarded by one *Paris*, a person who had once been a body-guard, for having voted the death of Louis XVI. The conventionals, reunited by their common danger, swore upon his tomb to forget their enmities, but they soon returned to hostilities. At Meaux some of the murderers of September were prosecuted, and of these all honourable republicans demanded the chastisement. The Mountainists, fearing that their own past misconduct might be examined, and that their adversaries might take advantage of a condemnation to attack them more openly, succeeded in stopping the prosecutions. This impunity emboldened still more the chiefs of the multitude; and Marat, who at this time had an incalculable influence over the mob, stirred the populace up to pillage the merchants, whom he accused of attempting to raise the price of

victuals. He attacked, in his journal and at the Jacobins, in the most violent manner, the *aristocracy* of the middle classes, the traders, and the *statesmen* (as he styled the Girondists), in a word, all who, whether in public or in the assembly, opposed the dominion of the Sans-culottes and the Mountainists. There was something terrible in the fanaticism and the desperate obstinacy of these partisans. The name which they had given to the Girondists from the commencement of the convention was that of *intriguers*, on account of the ministerial and undermining measures with which they opposed in the provinces the bold and open behaviour of the Jacobins.

Accordingly, they denounced them regularly in the club. "At Rome, an orator said daily, *We must destroy Carthage!* Well, let a Jacobin mount the tribune daily, only to say these words, *We must destroy the intriguers.* Who should resist us? We fight against crimes and the ephemeral power of riches; but we have for us truth, justice, poverty, virtue. With such arms, the Jacobins will speedily say, We passed, and they were no longer." Marat, who had far more boldness than Robespierre, (whose hates

and whose projects were as yet concealed under certain forms) was the patron of all the denouncers and of all the anarchists. Many Mountainists accused him of compromising their cause by the vehemence of his counsels, and by tempestuous excesses; but the whole of the people who held Jacobin principles supported him even against Robespierre, who, on occasions where he differed with him, had rarely the advantage. The pillage, recommended in February in *The Friend of the People*, with regard to certain merchants, *to serve as an example*, took place, and Marat was denounced to the convention, who decreed his accusation after a very stormy debate. But this decree led to no consequences, because the ordinary tribunals had no authority. This double trial, of strength on one side, and of weakness on the other, took place in the course of the month of February. Shortly after, still more decisive events led the Girondists to their fate.

The military situation of France had been hitherto cheering. Dumouriez had just crowned the brilliant campaign of Argonne by the conquest of Belgium. After the retreat of the Prussians, he had gone to Paris,

in order to concert the invasion of the Austrian Low Countries. He returned to the army on the 20th October 1792, and began the attack on the 28th. The plan which had been attempted so unsuccessfully, and with such a want of men and means in the beginning of the war, was resumed and executed with superior forces. Dumouriez at the head of the *Belgian army*, which was forty thousand strong, marched from Valenciennes upon Mons supported, on his right by the *army of Ardennes*, consisting of nearly sixteen thousand men, under general Valence, who came from Givet upon Namur; and on his left by *the army of the north*, which consisted of eighteen thousand men, under general Labourdonnaie, who advanced from Lille upon Tournai. The Austrian army posted before Mons awaited the attack in its intrenchments. Dumouriez defeated the Austrians completely; and the victory of Jemappes opened Belgium to the French, and began in Europe the ascendancy of our armies. After his victory of the 6th November, Dumouriez entered as a conqueror into Mons; on the 14th into Brussels; and on the 28th into Liège: Valence took Namur, Labourdonnaie obtained possession of Antwerp, and by the

middle of December the invasion of the Low Countries was entirely achieved. The French army, now master of the Meuse and the Scheldt, took up its winter-quarters; after having driven the Austrians beyond the Roër, whom it might have driven beyond the Lower Rhine.

From this moment dated the hostilities between Dumouriez and the Jacobins; a decree of the convention of the 15th December abrogated the Belgian customs, and organized the country in a democratical shape. The Jacobins sent on their part agents into Belgium, to propagate the revolution there, and to establish clubs in the country similar to those of the mother society; and the Flemings, who had received us with enthusiasm, were cooled by the requisitions demanded of them, by the general pillage and the intolerable anarchy which the Jacobins brought along with them. All that party which had opposed the Austrian dominion, and which hoped to be free under the protection of France, found our rule much severer, and regretted having called in or supported us. Dumouriez, who had framed plans for the independence of the Flemings, and of ambition for himself, returned to Paris to complain of

such impolitic conduct, as it regarded conquered countries. He now changed his behaviour, which had been hitherto equivocal. He had omitted no method of keeping well with the two factions; he had ranged himself under the banners of neither, in the hope of making use of the right through his friend Gensonné, and of the Mountain through Danton and Lacroix, and thought to dazzle both the one and the other by the splendour of his victories. But in his second journey he attempted to arrest the progress of the Jacobins, and to save Louis XVI; and, having failed of success, he returned to the army to commence his second campaign, extremely discontented, and determined to make his new victories serve to suspend the revolution and to change its system of government.

All the French frontiers were to be attacked at this time by the powers of Europe. The military successes of the revolution, and the catastrophe of the 21st January, had caused the greater part of the governments, till then undecided or neutral, to enter into the coalition. England, which had been long prepared for a rupture, seized this occasion for appearing on the theatre of hostilities. The

Tower of London was stored with arms; a fleet was ready to sail from Spithead; the ministers had obtained eighty millions of francs for extraordinaries, and Pitt was attempting to profit by our revolution to secure the preponderance of Great Britain; as Richelieu and Mazarin had profited by the crisis of England in 1640, to establish the dominion of the French throughout Europe. The cabinet of St. James's was moved by no motives but the interest of the English; the consolidation of its power in its own country, and its exclusive command over India and the ocean: the achievement of the colonial revolution begun in opposition to it, and which it was desirous to extend to the possessions of the other maritime powers, in order that it might serve as a mediator between two worlds, now become independent of each other: such were the results it anticipated from the great concussion which had been given to the continent.

On learning the fate of Louis XVI, the cabinet of St James's sent home the minister Chauvelin, and brought Holland along with it into the rupture with France: Holland being, since 1788, entirely subordinate to Eng-

land. At the same time it made an appeal to the second levy of the coalition. Spain had just undergone a change of ministry; the famous Godoy, duke of Alcadia, and afterwards prince of Peace, had been placed at the head of the government through the intrigues of England and the emigrants. That power broke with the republic, after vainly interceding for Louis XVI and having estimated its neutrality at the price of the king's life. The Germanic confederation had entirely agreed upon war; and Bavaria, Suabia, and the Elector Palatine, joined the opinion of the belligerent circles of the Empire. Naples followed the example of the Holy See, which had already declared itself; and there remained no longer any other states neutral than Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey. Russia was still occupied with her second division of Poland.

The republic was thus menaced on all sides by all the best disciplined troops in Europe. It was soon to be obliged to combat 55,000 Austro-Sardinians from the Alps; 50,000 Spaniards from the Pyrenees; 66,000 Austrians or Imperials, reinforced by 38,000 Anglo-Batavians on the Lower Rhine and in

Belgium; 33,400 Austrians between the Meuse and the Moselle; 112,600 Russians, Austrians, Prussians, and Imperials, on the Middle and Upper Rhine. In order to make head against so many enemies, the convention ordered a levy of 300,000 men. This measure for the defence of the exterior, was accompanied by a party measure of defence for the interior, of the country. At the moment when the newly raised battalions were to quit Paris, and when they presented themselves to the assembly, the Mountain required that an extraordinary tribunal should be established for the support of the revolution within, which these battalions were preparing to defend without, the frontiers. This tribunal, composed of nine members, was to judge without jury and without appeal. The Girondists opposed with all their might an institution at once so arbitrary and so redoubtable, but in vain; for they seemed to favour the enemies of the republic, in rejecting a tribunal ordained to punish them. All that they gained by their opposition, was the introduction of a jury, the removal of violent partisans, and the weakening of its action, as long as they had any influence in the state.

The principal efforts of the coalition were directed against the vast frontier, which stretches from the North Sea to Huningen. The prince of Cobourg was to attack, at the head of the Austrians, the French army upon the Roër and the Meuse, and to penetrate into Belgium, while the Prussians, on another point, were to march against Custine, to give him battle, to surround Mayence, and to renew the preceding invasion after taking it. These two armies of operation were upheld in their intermediate positions by considerable forces. Dumouriez, who was filled with his own ambitious plans of reaction, at a time when no one ought to have thought of anything but the danger with which France was surrounded, proposed to re-establish the monarchy of 1791, in spite of the convention, and in spite of Europe. That which Bouillé could not accomplish for an absolute, nor La-Fayette for a constitutional monarchy, and in more favourable times, Dumouriez hoped to achieve for a tumble-down and unsupported throne. Instead of remaining neuter between the factions, as circumstances would have dictated even to an ambitious general, Dumouriez preferred rather to oppose, in order to subdue them. He thought to form a party

out of France; to enter Holland aided by the Batavian republicans, alike opposed to the stadtholder and the English interest; to relieve Belgium from the influence of the Jacobins; to unite these two countries into one independent state; and, after having acquired the glory of a conqueror, to propose himself as their political protector. His next object was to intimidate the various parties; to gain the confidence of the army; march upon the capital; dissolve the convention; close the popular societies; re-establish the constitution of 1791, and give a king to France. This project, impracticable as it was in this fermented state of the revolution, appeared very feasible to the hot-headed and adventurous Dumouriez. Instead of defending the line of attack, from Mayence to the Roër, he threw himself on the left of the operations, and entered Holland at the head of an army of twenty thousand men. He expected by a rapid march to penetrate into the centre of the United Provinces; to take the opposing fortresses, and at Nimègue to be reinforced by twenty-five thousand men under general Miranda, who would have previously rendered himself master of Maestricht. And an army of forty thousand men

would be sufficient to observe the Austrians and protect his right.

Dumouriez pushed on his Dutch expedition with considerable vigour; he took Breda and Gertruydenberg, and was prepared to pass the Biesbos and repair to Dorft. But in the mean time the army on the right experienced the greatest disasters on the lower Meuse. The Austrians took the offensive, passed the Roër, and beat Miazinski at Aix-la-Chapelle; made Miranda raise the blockade of Maestricht, which he had in vain bombarded; crossed the Meuse, and put entirely to rout our army which had joined between Tirlemont and Louvain. Dumouriez received orders from the executive council to quit Holland with all speed, and to take the command of the troops in Belgium; he was accordingly obliged to obey, and thus to lose a part of his wildest, yet dearest hopes.

The Jacobins, on receiving the intelligence of all these reverses, became far more intractable than ever. Being unable to conceive the idea of a defeat without treachery, especially after the brilliant and unexpected victories of the former campaign, they attributed all military disasters to the combinations of party. They denounced the Girondist mi-

nisters and generals, whom they believed to have joined with each other to ruin the republic, and they determined upon their ruin. Rivalry mingled with suspicion, and they were as eager to overcome an exclusive dominion as to defend a territory which was threatened: they commenced with the Girondists. As the multitude was not yet accustomed to the idea of proscribing their representatives, they at first resorted to a plan for getting rid of them; they resolved to murder them in the convention when they should all be assembled; and they fixed the night of the 10th March for the execution of their plan. The assembly had adopted permanent sittings, on account of the dangers with which the commonwealth was surrounded. The previous evening it was decided at the club of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, to sound the tocsin, to shut the barriers and to march in two divisions on the convention, and the houses of the ministers. At the hour agreed on they set out; but several circumstances prevented the conspirators from succeeding. The Girondists, who had been prepared to expect the attack, did not go to the nightly sitting: the sections made some opposition to the plot, and Beurnonville, minister at war, marched

against them at the head of a battalion of the federates of Brest: all these unforeseen obstacles, joined to the rain, which did not cease to fall the whole night, dispersed the conspirators. The following day Vergniaud denounced the committee of insurrection which had projected these murders, required that the executive council should be charged with making inquiry into the conspiracy of the 10th March, to examine the registers of the clubs, and to arrest the members of the insurrectionary committee. "We are marching," said he, "from crimes to amnesties, and from amnesties to crimes. A great number of our citizens have gone the length of confounding seditious insurrections with the great insurrection of liberty; of regarding the insolence of robbers as the explosion of energetic minds, and robbery as a measure calculated to secure the general safety. We have witnessed the development of the strange system of liberty from which maxims such as these are drawn. You are free, but think like us, lest we denounce you to the vengeance of the people: you are free, but bow your heads before the idol to which we offer incense, or we will denounce you to the vengeance of the people: you are free, but you are to join

with us in persecuting men whose probity and understandings we dread, or we denounce you to the vengeance of the people! Citizens, it is to be feared that the revolution, like Saturn, may devour its own children, and engender, at length, despotism, with all its attendant calamities." These prophetic words produced some effect on the assembly; but the measures proposed by Vergniaud led to nothing.

The Jacobins had been arrested for a moment in their course by the ill success of their first enterprise against their adversaries; but the insurrection of La Vendée took place, and restored all their boldness. The war of La Vendée was an inevitable event in the revolution. This country, which was backed by the sea and the Loire, traversed by few roads, and covered with villages, hamlets, and castlewards, had maintained its ancient state of feudal existence. In La Vendée there was neither education nor civilization, because there was no middle class; and there was no middle class, because there were few or no towns. The class of the peasants had not at this time acquired any other ideas than those communicated to them by the priests, and had kept its interests undivided from

those of the nobles. These men, simple, robust, and devoted to the ancient order of things, understood nothing of a revolution, which was the result of opinions and wants altogether unknown to their situation. The nobles and the priests finding themselves a strong party in this quarter of the country, did not emigrate; and there it was that, in reality, existed the partisans of the old régime; because there it was that its doctrines and its society were to be found. It was certain that, sooner or later, France and La Vendée, countries so different, and which had nothing in common but their language, should be in a state of war with each other: it was certain that the two kinds of fanaticism, the monarchical, and that which believed in the popular sovereignty, that of the priesthood and that of human reason, should raise their banners against each other, and bring about the triumph either of the old or new state of civilization.

Partial troubles had arisen at various times in La Vendée. In 1792 the count de la Rouairie had proposed a general rising, which had only failed in consequence of his own arrest; but everything was prepared for an insurrection, when the recruiting of the army by

three hundred thousand men was undertaken: that levy became the signal of revolt. The Vendeans beat the gendarmerie at St. Florens, and first took for their chiefs at divers points, Cathelineau the waggoner, Charette an officer in the navy, and Stofflet the gamekeeper. In a short time the insurrection spread throughout the whole country: nine hundred communes rose up at the sound of the tocsin, and then the noble chiefs Bonchamps, Lescure, Larochejaquelin, D'Elbée, and Talmont, joined the others. The troops of the line and the battalions of the national guard, which marched against the insurgents, were beaten. General Marcé was overthrown at St. Vincent, by Stofflet: general Gauvilliers at Beaupreau, by D'Elbée and Bonchamps; general Quetineau at Aubiers, by Larochejaquelin; and general Ligonnier, at Cholet. The Vendeans, now become masters of Châtillon, Bressuire, and Vihiers, determined, before pushing their advantages farther, to give themselves a sort of organization. They formed three bodies, consisting of from ten to twelve thousand men each, after the distribution of the Vendean territory into three branches of command; the first under Bonchamps kept by the banks of the Loire, and received the

name of *the army of Anjou;* the second placed in the centre, was called *the grand army*, and was commanded by D'Elbée; and the third, in Lower La Vendée, became *the army of the Marsh*, under Charette. The insurgents established a council to decide the operations, and chose Cathelineau generalissimo. These arrangements, and that disposition of the country, allowed of ranging the insurgents in regiments, of dismissing them to their fields, or recalling them to serve under their banners.

The news of this formidable rising made the convention take still more rigorous measures with regard to the priests and the emigrants. It outlawed the priests and nobles who participated in any assembling of persons, and took away the arms of all who had belonged to the privileged classes. The old emigrants were banished for life; they were not allowed to re-enter France under pain of death; and all their properties were confiscated. On the door of each house the names of all who inhabitated it were to be written; and the revolutionary tribunal, which had been adjourned, re-commenced its terrible functions.

At the same time intelligence arrived of new disasters in our armies. Dumouriez, on

his return to the army of Belgium, concentrated his forces, in order to oppose the Austrian general, the prince of Cobourg. His troops were in a state of discouragement, and wanted everything: he addressed to the convention a threatening letter against the Jacobins who denounced him. After having inspired his army with some of the confidence it formerly had in its own success, by means of some small advantages, he hazarded a general engagement at Nerwind, and lost the battle. Belgium was evacuated; and Dumouriez, placed between the Austrians and the Jacobins, beaten by the one, and attacked by the other, resorted to the culpable expedient of a defection, in order to realize his former projects. He had conferences with colonel Mack, and arranged with the Austrians to march upon Paris to re-establish the monarchy, while he was to quit them upon the frontier, leaving them several strong places as a guarantee. It is likely that Dumouriez meant to place upon the throne the young duke of Chartres, who had distinguished himself in that campaign; while the prince of Cobourg hoped that if the counter-revolution reached that point, it would go farther, and re-establish the son of Louis XVI, and

the ancient monarchy together. A counter-revolution is not to be arrested, any more than a revolution; when it is once commenced, it must go on to the end. The Jacobins were very soon informed of the intentions of Dumouriez, who took no pains to conceal them; whether it was that he wished to sound his troops, or to terrify his enemies, or whether he abandoned himself to the usual levity of his disposition, is uncertain. In order to make themselves still more certain of the facts, the club of the Jacobins sent to him a deputation, consisting of three of its members, named Proly, Péreira, and Dubuisson. On being admitted into the presence of Dumouriez, they obtained of him more acknowledgments than they had even expected. "The convention," said he, "is an assembly of seven hundred and thirty-five tyrants. As long as I hold four inches of steel, I shall not allow it to reign and to pour forth human blood, by means of the revolutionary tribunal which it has just created. As to the republic," added he; "it is but an empty word; I believed in it for three days; but since the affair of Jemmapes, I have regretted every success I have obtained in so bad a cause. There is but one way of saving the country,

and that is by the re-establishment of the constitution of 1791, and a king."—"Are you in your senses, general?" cried Dubuisson: "the French hold the name of royalty, and the sound of the name of Louis XVI, in horror."—"But what matters the name? Of what consequence is it whether the king is called Louis, James, or Philip?"—"And your means, where are they?"—"My army—yes, my army will accomplish all this; and from my camp, or the security of a fortified place, will tell you that it demands a king."—"But your project compromises the safety of the prisoners in the Temple."—"The last of the Bourbons must be slain, even those at Coblentz, before France will want a king: and if Paris added this murder to those with which it is already dishonoured, I should immediately march upon the capital." After declaring himself with all this want of precaution, Dumouriez commenced the execution of his impracticable design: he found himself in a position truly difficult, his soldiers were sincerely attached to him, but they were also devoted to their country. He was bound to give up strong places of which he was not the master, and it was to be supposed that the generals under his orders would act with regard to

him as he had himself acted with La Fayette. His first attempt was not encouraging. After establishing his camp at St. Amaud, he wished to seize upon Lille, Condé, and Valenciennes; but in this attempt he failed. This piece of ill success led him to hesitate, and prevented him from commencing the attack.

It was not thus with the convention, which acted with a promptitude, a boldness, a firmness, and a precision with regard to its object, which could not fail to render it victorious. When a party knows what its wishes are, and when these are promptly and decidedly followed up, it always succeeds: this was what was wanting in Dumouriez, this was what checked his boldness, and shook his partisans. As soon as the convention was informed of his projects, it summoned him to its bar: he refused to obey, but did not yet hoist the standard of revolt. The convention immediately dispatched four of its representatives, Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, and Bancal, together with the minister at war, Beurnonville, to bring him before them or to arrest him in the midst of his army. Dumouriez received the commission at the head of his

staff: they presented to him the decree of the convention, which he read, and returned it to them, saying that the state of his army did not admit of his quitting it. He offered to resign his post, and promised that, at a calmer time, he would himself demand an investigation into his conduct, and give an explanation both of his designs and his actions. The commissaries entreated him to submit, alleging the example of the ancient Roman generals. "We are always wrong when we quote," said he; "and we degrade the history of the Romans, when we give the example of their virtues as an excuse for our crimes. The Romans did not murder Tarquin—the Romans had a well regulated republic and good laws: they had neither a club of Jacobins, nor a revolutionary tribunal. We live in a time of anarchy; a band of tigers desire my head, and I do not wish to give it them."—"Citizen general," said Camus, "will you obey the decree of the national convention, and go to Paris?"—"Not now."—"Well then I declare you suspended from your functions: you are no longer general; and I command you to be taken into custody."—"This is too much!" cried Dumouriez: and ordered some German

hussars to seize the commissaries, whom he delivered as hostages to the Austrians. After this act of revolt, it was no longer possible to hesitate. Dumouriez made a new attack upon Condé, but it was as unsuccessful as the former: he wished to induce the army to follow him in his defection, but it deserted him. The soldiers were much more likely to prefer the republic to their general; for the attachment to the revolution was now in all its strength, and the civil power in all its energy. Dumouriez experienced, in declaring himself against the convention, the same fate which La Fayette had undergone when he declared himself against the constituent assembly. At that period, if a general had united the firmness of Bouillé to the patriotism and the popularity of La Fayette, and the victories and resources of Dumouriez, he must have failed as they did. The revolution, with the movement which it caused, was necessarily stronger than parties, than generals, or than Europe. Dumouriez passed into the Austrian camp with the duke of Chartres, colonel Thouvenot, and two squadrons of Berchiny; the rest of his army joined the camp at Famars, and united with the troops under the command of Dampierre.

The convention, on learning the arrest of the commissaries, established itself permanently, declared Dumouriez a traitor to his country, authorized every citizen to treat him as an outlaw, set a price upon his head, decreed the famous committee of public safety, and banished the duke of Orleans and all the Bourbons from the republic. Though the Girondists on this occasion had attacked Dumouriez as angrily as the Mountainists, they were nevertheless accused of being accomplices in his desertion; and thus was a new complaint added to all the rest. Their enemies daily became more powerful, and it was in moments of public danger that they were especially redoubtable. Till now in the long struggle which had been going on between the two parties, they had gained the victory on all points: they had stopped the prosecutions relating to the massacres of September: they had supported the usurpations of the commune: they had first obtained the trial and then the execution of Louis XVI: through their intrigues the pillages of February and the conspiracy of the 10th March had remained unpunished: they erected the revolutionary tribunal, in spite of the Girondists: by means of repeated insults they had driven Roland from

the ministry; and they had triumphed over Dumouriez. It now only remained for them to take away from the Girondists their last asylum, the assembly: this they began to attempt on the 10th April, and they finished the work on the 2nd June.

Robespierre attacked, by name, Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Pétion, and Gensonné, in the convention, and Marat denounced them in the popular assemblies. He wrote in his quality of president of the Jacobins an address to the departments, in which he called for *the thunder of petitions and accusations against the traitors and unfaithful delegates, who had desired to save the tyrant by voting his imprisonment or the appeal to the people.* The right side and the Plain of the convention felt that it was requisite to combine their forces. Marat was sent before the revolutionary tribunal. This intelligence excited the loudest rumours among the clubs, the mob, and the commune. In revenge, the mayor (Pache) came, in the name of the thirty-five sections and of the council-general, to demand the expulsion of the principal Girondists. Young Boyer Fonfrède required to be included in the proscription of his colleagues, and the members of the righ. and of the Plain rose up, crying out—*All! all*

of us! This petition, though declared calumnious, was the beginning of attacks from without against the convention, and prepared the minds of all for the ruin of the Gironde.

The accusation of Marat was far from intimidating the Jacobins, who accompanied him to the revolutionary tribunal. Marat was acquitted, and carried in triumph into the assembly. From this moment the avenues to the hall were occupied by audacious Sans-culottes; and the tribunes of the Jacobins trenched upon those of the convention. The clubbists and the hirelings *(tricoteuses)* of Robespierre continually interrupted the orators of the right, and disturbed the deliberations: while out of doors all means were sought for to get rid of the Girondists. Henriot, commandant of the Sans-culotte section, excited for this purpose the battalions which were ready to depart for La Vendée. Guadet then saw that it was useless any longer to confine matters to complaints or harangues: he mounted the tribune and said: "Citizens, while virtuous men confine themselves to lamenting over the misfortunes of their country, conspirators are endeavouring to ruin it. Like Cæsar, they say—*Let them speak, and let us act!* Well, then—do so too. The evil lies

in the impunity of the conspirators of the 10th March, in the existence of the authorities of Paris—authorities at once desirous of money and of power. Citizens, there is still time: you may yet save your country, and your honour which is compromised. I propose to annul the authorities of Paris, to replace within twenty-four hours the municipality by the presidents of the sections, to assemble the proxies of the convention at Bourges with the shortest possible delay, and to dispatch our decree into the departments by expresses." This motion of Guadet's served for a moment to surprise the Mountain. If the measures proposed had been adopted on the instant, the dominion of the commune and the projects of the conspirators were gone for ever: but it is also probable that the parties would have taken some steps, that civil war would have spread, that the convention would have been dissolved by the assembly of Bourges, all centre of action destroyed, and that the revolution would not have been strong enough to resist its own internal struggles and the attacks of Europe: and this was what was feared by the moderate part of the assembly. In terror of anarchy if the commune was not repressed, and of the counter-revolution, if the multitude was not

confined, the moderate party wished to maintain a balance between the two extremities of the convention. This party composed the committees of general surety and public safety; it was directed by Barrère, who, like all well-meaning men of weak character, was the supporter of moderate measures, until terror made him an instrument of cruelty and tyranny. Instead of the decisive measures of Guadet, he proposed to name an extraordinary commission of twelve members charged with the examination of the conduct of the municipality, to discover the authors of the plots carried on against the national representation, and to secure their persons. This middle course was adopted: but it left the commune undisturbed, and the commune necessarily triumphed over the convention.

The commission of twelve spread alarm among the members of the commune by its inquiries; it discovered a new conspiracy, which was to break out on the 22nd May; ordered the arrest of several conspirators, among others, the secretary of the commune, Hebert, author of *Père Duchesne*, who was seized in the very midst of the municipality. The commune, which at first was in a state of stupefaction, now took measures of opposi-

tion. From this time there were no longer plots—there were insurrections. The council general, encouraged by the Mountainists, surrounded itself with the agitators of the capital: it spread a report that the twelve wished to purge the convention, and replace the tribunal which had acquitted Marat by a counter-revolutionary tribunal. The Jacobins, the Cordeliers, and the sections, now established themselves permanently. On the 26th May the agitation began to be felt; and on the 27th it became strong enough to lead the commune to open the attack. The commune presented itself to the convention, and demanded the liberty of Hébert, and the suppression of the twelve. It was followed by the deputies from the sections, who expressed the same wish; and the hall was surrounded by large assemblages. The section of the city even ventured to require that the twelve should be brought before the revolutionary tribunal. Isnard, president of the assembly, replied in a tone of solemnity, "Listen to what I am now about to say. If once the convention is degraded; if ever, through one of these insurrections, which have so frequently taken place since the 10th March, and of which the magistrates have not

given notice to the assembly, it happened that a blow was struck at the national representation, I tell you in the name of the whole of France, that Paris would be annihilated; yes, all France would take vengeance on the attempt, and soon it would be necessary to inquire on which bank of the Seine the capital once stood." This reply became the signal of a great tumult. "I declare to you also," cried Danton; "that so much impudence begins to be insufferable; we will resist you." Then turning towards the right—"No more truces between the Mountain and the cowards who wished to save the tyrant."

The greatest confusion now reigned in the hall; the tribunes uttered cries against the right—the Mountainists broke out into menaces; every moment the deputations succeeded each other from without, and the convention saw itself surrounded by an immense multitude. Some sectionaries of the Mail and the Butte des Moulins, commanded by Raffit, had placed themselves in the passages and avenues to defend it. The Girondists fought as long as they could against the deputations and the Mountain. Threatened from within, and besieged from without, they

attempted to make use of that violence to excite the indignation of the assembly. But Garat, the minister of the interior, deprived them of even that resource; and on being called upon to render an account of the state of Paris, he assured the meeting that the convention had nothing to fear; and the opinion of Garat, who passed for impartial, and whose conciliating disposition sometimes led him to take equivocal steps, emboldened the members of the Mountain. Isnard was compelled to quit the chair; Hérault de Séchelles replaced him; and this was the signal of victory to the Mountainists. The new president replied to the petitioners whom Isnard had till then kept down—"The force of reason and the force of the people is the same thing: you ask us for a magistrate and justice; the representatives of the people will render it to you." It was too late; the right side was cast down; several of its members had departed; the petitioners had thrust themselves from the bar into the seats of the representatives, and thus mixing with the Mountainists, amidst cries and disorder, they all voted together the suppression of the twelve, and the enlargement of the prisoners. It was at half-past twelve, among the plau-

dits of the tribunes and the people, that the decree was carried.

Perhaps it might have been wise in the Gironde, considering that it was not in reality the strongest party, to have taken no farther notice of this deliberation. The movement of the preceding evening could have no other result than the suppression of the twelve, if other causes did not tend to prolong it. But, when the animosities of the parties had reached this point of violence, it was necessary that the quarrel should be decided—that the two parties should combat for victory, seeing that they could no longer bear each other;—that they should march from victory to victory, and from victory to defeat, each day growing more and more hostile, till the stronger party should definitively triumph over the weaker. The next day the members of the right regained the field of battle in the convention; they resumed the discussion on the decree of the preceding evening, as being illegally carried amidst tumult, and by force, and the commission was re-established. "You did yesterday," said Danton, "a great act of justice; but I tell you, that if the commission preserves the tyrannical power it has exercised;—if the magistrates of the people

are not restored to their functions;—if our good citizens have yet to dread arbitrary arrests—then, after having proved to you that we surpass our enemies in prudence and wisdom, we will surpass them also in boldness and in revolutionary vigour." Danton was afraid to resume the combat, for he dreaded the triumph of the Mountainists as much as that of the Girondists; accordingly he wished by turns to prevent the 31st May, and to moderate its results; but he found himself reduced to join his own party during the combat, and to be silent after the victory.

The agitation, which had been somewhat calmed by the suppression of the twelve, became threatening on the news of their re-establishment. The tribunes of the sections and popular societies, echoed with invectives, cries of danger, and appeals to the insurrection. Hébert, after quitting prison, repaired to the commune. There was placed on his head a crown, which he placed upon the head of Brutus, and then flew to the Jacobins, to call for vengeance upon the twelve. Upon this, Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Chaumette, and Pache, joined to organize a new movement. The insurrection was modelled on that of the 10th August: the 29th May

was employed in preparing the public mind for it. On the 30th, the members of the electoral body, the commissaries of the clubs, and deputies from the sections, assembled at the Evêché, declared themselves in a state of insurrection, annulled the council general of the commune, and afterwards restored it, making the members take a new oath. Henriot received the title of commandant-general of the armed forces, and the Sans-culottes had forty sous per day, as long as they remained under arms. After these arrangements were decided on, early in the morning of the 31st the tocsin was sounded, the *générale* beat, the troops assembled and marched upon the convention, which for some time had held its sittings in the palace of the Tuileries.

The assembly had been sitting for some time; it had met at the sound of the tocsin. The minister of the interior, the administrators of the department, and the mayor of Paris, had been successively called to the bar. Garat had reported the agitation of Paris, but appeared to feel no dread of dangerous consequences from it. Lhuillier, in the name of the department, had assured the assembly hat it was merely *a moral insurrection*.

Pache, the mayor, came last, and in a most hypocritical manner disclosed the operations of the insurgents; he pretended to have employed all his efforts to maintain order; he assured the assembly that the guard of the convention had been doubled, and that he had forbidden the alarm-guns to be fired. However, at the very moment he was speaking, the report of a gun was heard at a distance. The general surprise and agitation were extreme. Cambon requested that all the assembly would join to avert the general danger; he implored the tribunes to be silent. "In such extraordinary circumstances," said he, "the only method of defeating the designs of ill-meaning persons is to cause the national convention to be respected." "I demand," said Thuriot, "that the commission of twelve be annulled on the instant." "And I demand," said Talien, "that the sword of the law be raised to smite the conspirators who shelter themselves in the very bosom of the convention." The Girondists, on their side, required that the audacious Henriot should be brought to their bar, for having fired the alarm guns without the order of the convention. "If there is any struggle now," said Vergniaud, "the result will be the ruin of

the republic, let either party gain the victory. Let all our members swear to die at their posts." The whole assembly then rose, and supported the opinion of Vergniaud. Danton flew to the tribune: "Annul the commission of twelve," cried he; "the cannon has fired. If you are political legislators, so far from blaming the explosion of Paris, you will turn it to the profit of the republic, by reforming your errors, and cancelling the commission." And hearing some murmurs, he continued, "It is to those who possess some political talents that I address myself, and not to those foolish persons who allow their passions only to speak. I say to them, Consider the greatness of your object: it is to save the people from their enemies, from aristocrats, and from their own fury. If a few really dangerous men, no matter to what party they belong, wished afterwards to prolong a movement which would be useless when you had rendered justice to yourselves, Paris itself would reduce them into their proper insignificance. I calmly demand the pure and simple suppression of the commission under its political view." The commission was violently attacked on one side, and feebly defended on the other. Barrère and the committee of

public safety, who had created it, proposed its suppression for the sake of peace, and in order to prevent the assembly from being put at the mercy of the multitude. The moderate Mountainists were disposed to stop at this measure, when the deputations arrived. The members of the department, those of the municipality, and the commissaries of the sections, on being admitted to the bar, not only demanded the suppression of the twelve, but likewise the chastisement of its members and of all the Girondist chiefs.

The Tuileries were now blocked up by the insurgents, and the presence of their commissaries in the hall of the convention emboldened the extreme Mountainists, who wished to destroy the Girondist party. Robespierre, their chief and their orator, then addressed the assembly: "Citizens, let us not lose this day in vain clamours and insignificant measures: this day is, perhaps, the last in which despotism may combat tyranny! Let the faithful representatives of the people unite to secure their happiness!" He urged the convention to follow the plan suggested by the petitioners, rather than that proposed by the committee of public safety. "Conclude, then," cried Vergniaud.—"I do, and against you! against you

who after the revolution of the 10th August wished to bring to the scaffold those who had accomplished it! against you who have never ceased to provoke the destruction of Paris! against you who wished to save the tyrant! against you who conspired with Dumouriez! against you who pursued with fury the same patriots whose heads Dumouriez demanded! against you whose criminal projects of vengeance have provoked the very cries of indignation of which you now wish to make a crime in those who are your victims! Well then, my conclusion is a decree of accusation against all the accomplices of Dumouriez and those pointed out by the petitioners!" Notwithstanding the violence of this attack, the party of Robespierre did not obtain the victory. The insurrection had been only raised against the twelve; and the committee of public safety which proposed its suppression, carried the day against the commune. The assembly adopted the decree of Barrère, which annulled the twelve, put the public force in permanent requisition, and which, to content the petitioners, charged the committee of public safety with investigating the plots they had denounced. As soon as the multitude which surrounded the assembly was informed of these

measures, they received them with acclamations, and dispersed.

But the conspirators were not satisfied with this half triumph: they had gone on the 31st May still farther than on the 27th: and on the 2nd June they went still farther than on the 31st May. The insurrection became—instead of a *moral* one, as they styled it—*personal;* that is to say, it was no longer directed against a power, but against *deputies:* it escaped Danton and the Mountain, and it fell to Robespierre, Marat, and the commune. On the night of the 31st, a Jacobin deputy said "that there had only been one half done, that the business ought to be finished, and that the people should not have time to cool." Henriot offered to place the armed force at the disposal of the club. The insurrectional committee openly established itself near the convention. The whole of the 1st June was devoted to the preparation for a grand movement. The commune wrote thus to the sections: "*Citizens, keep yourselves prepared: the dangers of your country impose this upon you as a law.*" In the evening Marat, who was the principal actor in the 2nd June, went to the Hôtel-de-Ville, mounted the clock, and sounded the tocsin: he advised the members of the council never

to yield until they had obtained a decree of accusation against the *traitors* and the *statesmen*. Some deputies met in the convention, and the conspirators proceeded thither to demand a decree against the proscripts: but they were not yet sufficiently strong to force it from the convention.

All the night passed away in preparations: the tocsin sounded, the *générale* was beaten, and the crowds assembled. On Sunday morning, towards eight o'clock, Henriot presented himself to the council-general, and declared to his accomplices, *in the name of the insurgent people*, that they would not lay down their arms till they had obtained the arrest of the conspirators among the deputies. He next put himself at the head of the vast multitudes who were in the square of the Hôtel-de-Ville, addressed them, and gave them the signal to depart. It was near ten when the insurgents arrived on the Place du Carrousel. Henriot surrounded the palace with devoted bands, and the convention was very soon surrounded by twenty thousand men, of whom the greater number did not know what they were required to do, and felt themselves more inclined to defend than to attack the deputation.

The greater part of the proscripts had

remained absent from the assembly. Some, who were resolved to keep up their courage to the end, had come to brave the storm for the last time. As soon as the sitting commenced, the intrepid Lanjuinais mounted the tribune: "I demand," said he, "to be allowed to ask why the *générale* is now beating in every part of Paris?" He was instantly interrupted by cries of *Down! Down! He wants a civil war! He wants the counter-revolution! He calumniates Paris! He insults the people!* In spite of the menaces, outrages, and cries of the Mountain and the tribunes, Lanjuinais denounced the projects of the commune and of the factions: his courage augmented with the danger. "You accuse us," said he, "with calumniating Paris! Paris is pure—Paris is good. Paris is oppressed by tyrants, who seek for blood and dominion!" These words became a signal for the most violent tumults; several Mountainist deputies rushed to the tribune in order to drag Lanjuinais from it, but he clung to it, and in a tone of the most generous courage, cried out: "I require all the revolutionary authorities of Paris to be annulled: I demand that all they have done for the last three days be annulled; I demand that all those who desire to arrogate

to themselves a new authority contrary to the law, be outlawed, and that every citizen be authorized to treat them accordingly." He had scarcely finished, when the insurgent petitioners came to demand his arrest and that of his colleagues. "Citizens," said they in conclusion, "the people are tired to see their happiness postponed: they leave it yet a moment in your hands: save them then, or we declare that the people will save themselves!"

The right called for the order of the day on the petition of the insurgents. The convention passed to the order of the day. Upon this the petitioners left the hall in a threatening attitude, the men quitted the galleries, the cry was heard *To arms!* and a great noise was going on without. *Save the people from themselves,* said a Mountainist, *and save your colleagues by decreeing their provisional arrest. No! No!* replied the right, and even a party of the left. *We will all share their fate!* cried Lareveillère-Lepaux. The committee of public safety, charged with the report, and terrified at the greatness of the danger, proposed as on the 31st May a measure, in appearance conciliatory, which should satisfy the insurgents without entirely sacrificing the proscribed. "The committee addresses itself," said Bar-

rère, "to the patriotism and the generosity of the members accused: it asks of them the suspension of their power, by representing to them that it is the only means of staying the divisions which afflict the republic, and of bringing back peace to it." Several among them supported this measure. Isnard suspended himself: Lanthénas, Dussaulx, and Fauchet, followed his example. Lanjuinais did not agree with him. "I have, I believe, till this moment," said he, "discovered some courage; therefore neither look for suspension or dismission as far as I am concerned." Here he was violently interrupted, but he continued: "When the ancients," said he, "prepared a sacrifice, they crowned the victim with flowers and garlands when they conducted it to the altar: the priest immolated, but did not insult it." Barbaroux was as firm as Lanjuinais. "I have sworn," said he, "to die at my post; and I will keep my vow." The conspirators of the Mountain themselves rose up against the proposition of the committee. Marat said that those who made sacrifices ought to be pure: and Billaud-Varennes demanded the judgment of the Girondists, and not their suspension.

While this debate was taking place, a de-

puty from the Mountain (Lacroix) hastily entered the hall, rushed to the tribune, declared that he had been insulted at the doors, that he had been prevented from leaving the house, and that the convention was no longer free. A great number of the Mountainists showed their indignation at the conduct of Henriot and his troops. Danton said, that *the outraged national majesty should be vigorously avenged.* Barrère proposed that the convention should present itself to the people; "Representatives," said he, "command your own freedom, suspend your sitting, and make the bayonets which now surround you, bend before you." The whole of the convention then rose, and marched out, preceded by its ushers, and with the president at its head, who wore his head covered in token of his distress. On arriving at a passage which led to the Place de Carrousel, they found Henriot on horseback with a sabre in his hand. "What demand the people?" said the president Hérault de Séchelles to him; "the convention is only occupied with their welfare." "Hérault," replied Henriot, "the people are not risen up to listen to phrases; they demand that twenty-four criminals be given up to them." "Let us all be given up," cried those who sur-

rounded the president. Henriot then turned to his party, and cried "*Cannoniers to your guns!*" Two cannons were immediately pointed at the convention, which drew back, entered the garden and crossed it, and then presented itself at several avenues, which were all equally closed. Everywhere the soldiers were under arms; Marat went up and down their ranks, he excited, encouraged the insurgents: "No weakness," said he, "and quit not your post until they shall have been given up to you." The convention then entered the hall, overwhelmed with the sense of its own impotence and the uselessness of its efforts, and altogether subdued. The arrest of the proscripts was no longer opposed. Marat, the real dictator of the assembly, decided completely on the fate of its members. "Dussaulx," said he, "is an old dotard, incapable of being the chief of a party; Lanthénas is a poor blockhead whom nobody cares about; Ducos holds but a few erroneous opinions, and is unqualified to be chief of a counter-revolution. I demand that these be cepted, and that they be replaced by Valazé." Accordingly Dussaulx, Lanthénas, and Ducos were retrenched from the list, and the name of Valazé added to it. The list was thus

composed, though half of the assembly took no part in the decree.

The following are the names of these illustrious proscripts. They decreed the arrest of the Girondists—Gensonné, Guadet, Brissot, Gorsas, Pétion, Vergniaud, Salles, Barbaroux, Chambon, Buzot, Birotteau, Lidon, Rabaud, Lasource, Lanjuinais, Grangeneuve, Lehardi, Lesage, Louvet, Valazé, Lebrun the minister for foreign affairs, and Clavière, minister for contributions. The members of the twelve arrested were—Kervelegan, Gardien, Rabaud-Saint-Etienne, Boileau, Bertrand, Vigée, Molleveau, Henri-Larivière, Gomère, and Bergouin. The convention placed them in a state of detention at their own houses, and under the safeguard of the people. Immediately the countersign which had held the convention prisoners was given, and the multitude dispersed: but it must also be said that from this time there was no freedom in the assembly.

Thus fell the party of the Gironde, a party which was illustrious for the great talents and courage of its members: a party which honoured the rising republic by its horror of blood, its hatred of crime, its disgust at anarchy, its love of order, of justice, and liberty:

a party which was unfortunately placed between the middle class whose revolution it had combatted, and the multitude whose dominion it rejected. Condemned to inactivity, this party could only adorn the certainty of defeat by a courageous struggle, and by a bold death. At that time its end might have been foreseen with certainty; it had been driven from post to post: from the Jacobins by the invasion of the Mountainists; from the commune by the dismissal of Pétion; from the ministry by the retreat of Roland and his colleagues; and from the army by the defection of Dumouriez. It had no longer any hold but on the convention; there it intrenched itself, struggled, and was overcome. Its enemies attempted by turns against it both plots and insurrections. Their plots gave rise to the commission of twelve, which appeared to give a momentary advantage to the Gironde, but which only the more violently excited its adversaries. The latter put the multitude in motion, and carried away from the Girondists, first their authority by destroying the commission of twelve, and then their political existence by proscribing their chiefs.

The consequences of this disastrous event

were contrary to the opinions of all: the Dantonists thought that the dissensions of party would be terminated and a civil war broke out; the moderate part of the committee of public safety thought that the convention would recover all its power, and it was subjugated; the commune believed that the 31st May would obtain for it the ascendancy, which fell to Robespierre and some men dedevoted to his fortunes, or to the extreme democracy. In short, another party was added to the vanquished parties, and consequently to the hostile parties; and as the republic was raised against the constitutionals after the 10th August, the system of terror was adopted against the moderate party in the republic after the 31st May.

END OF VOL. I.

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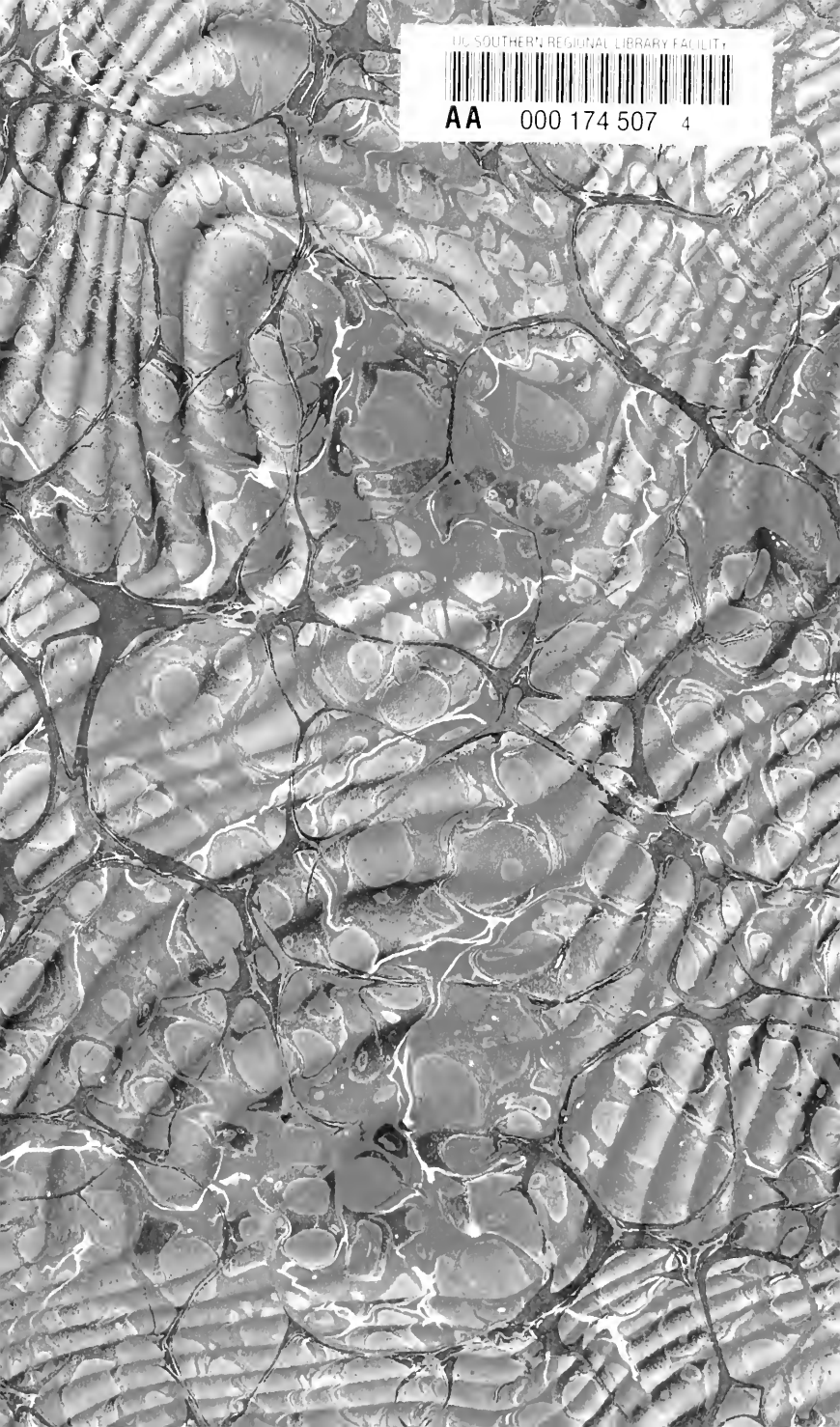
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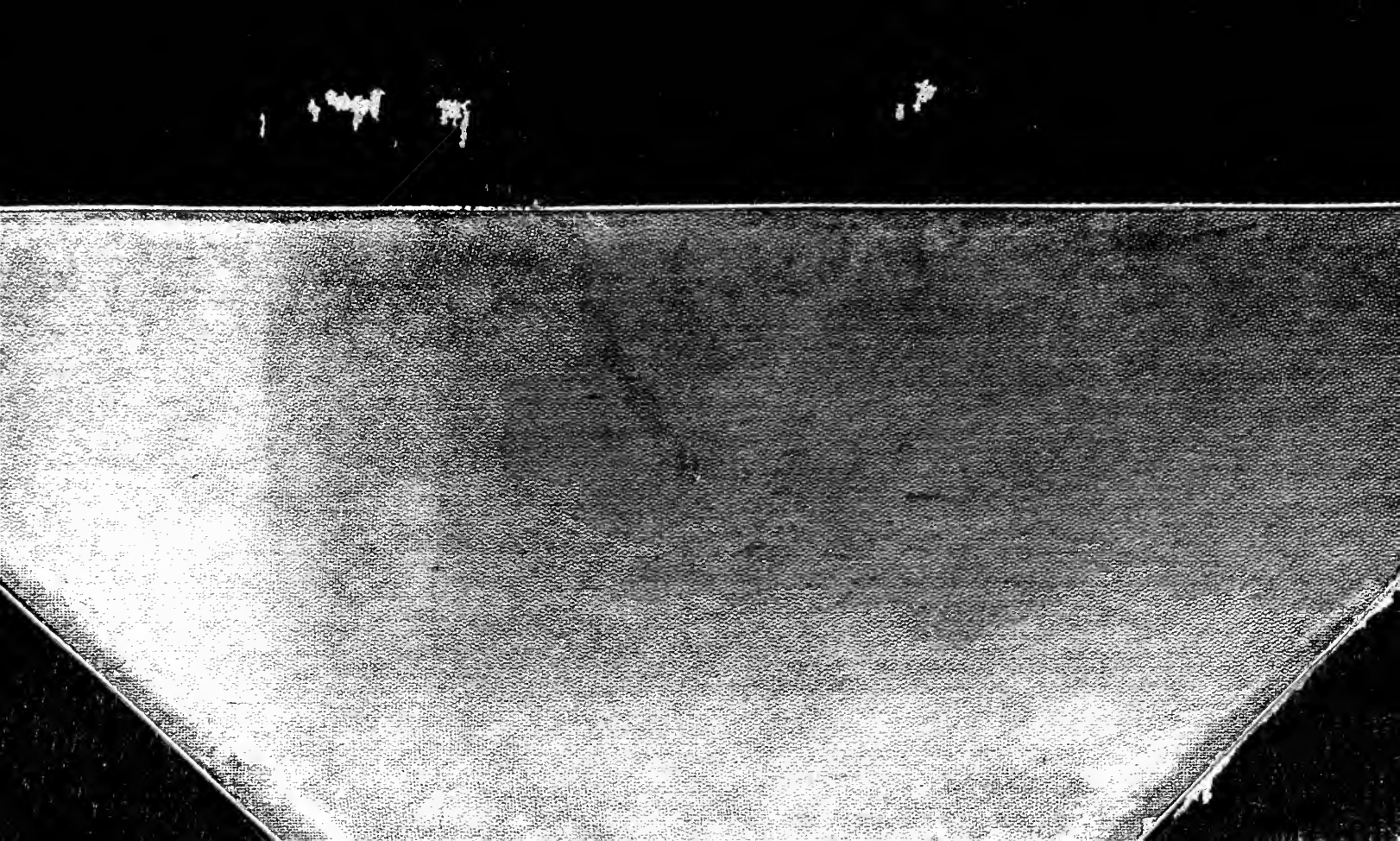

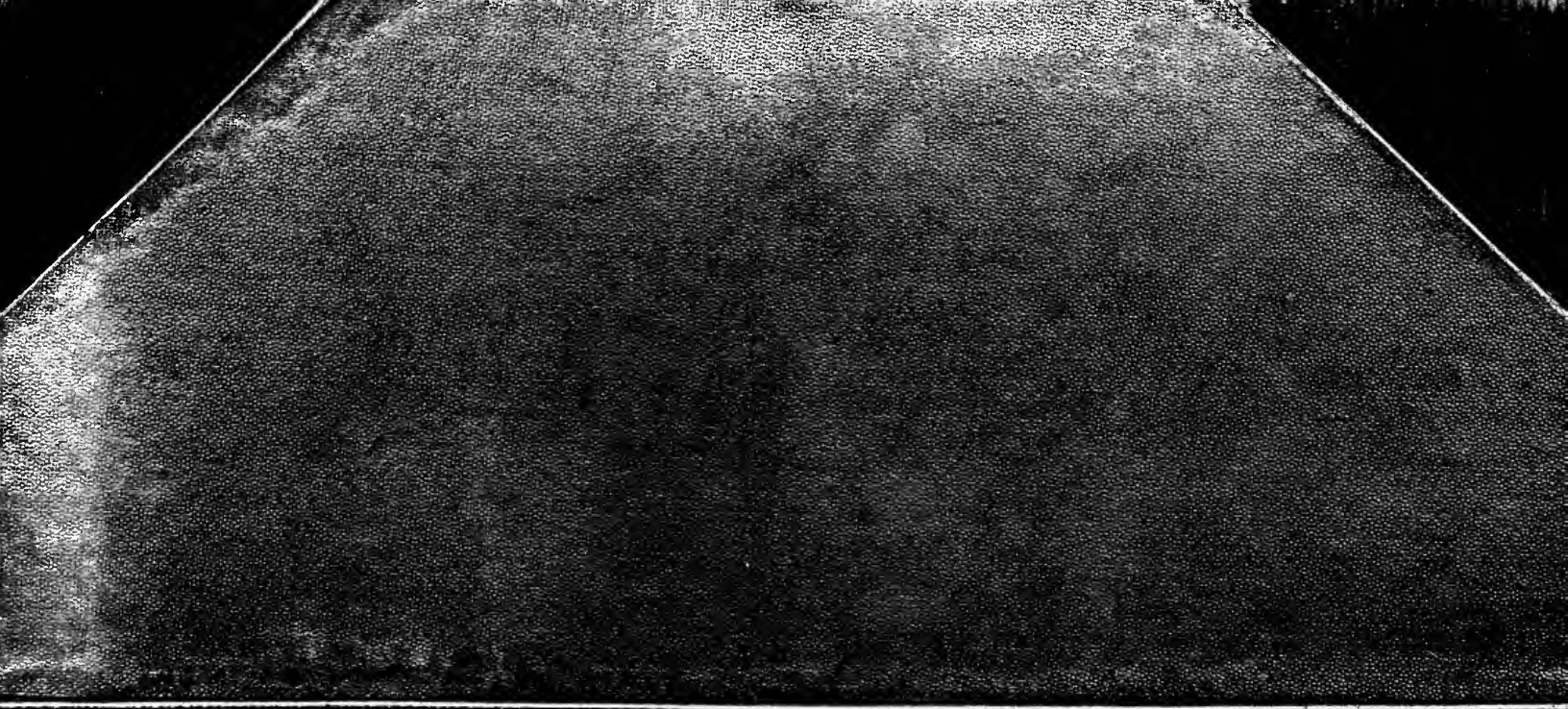

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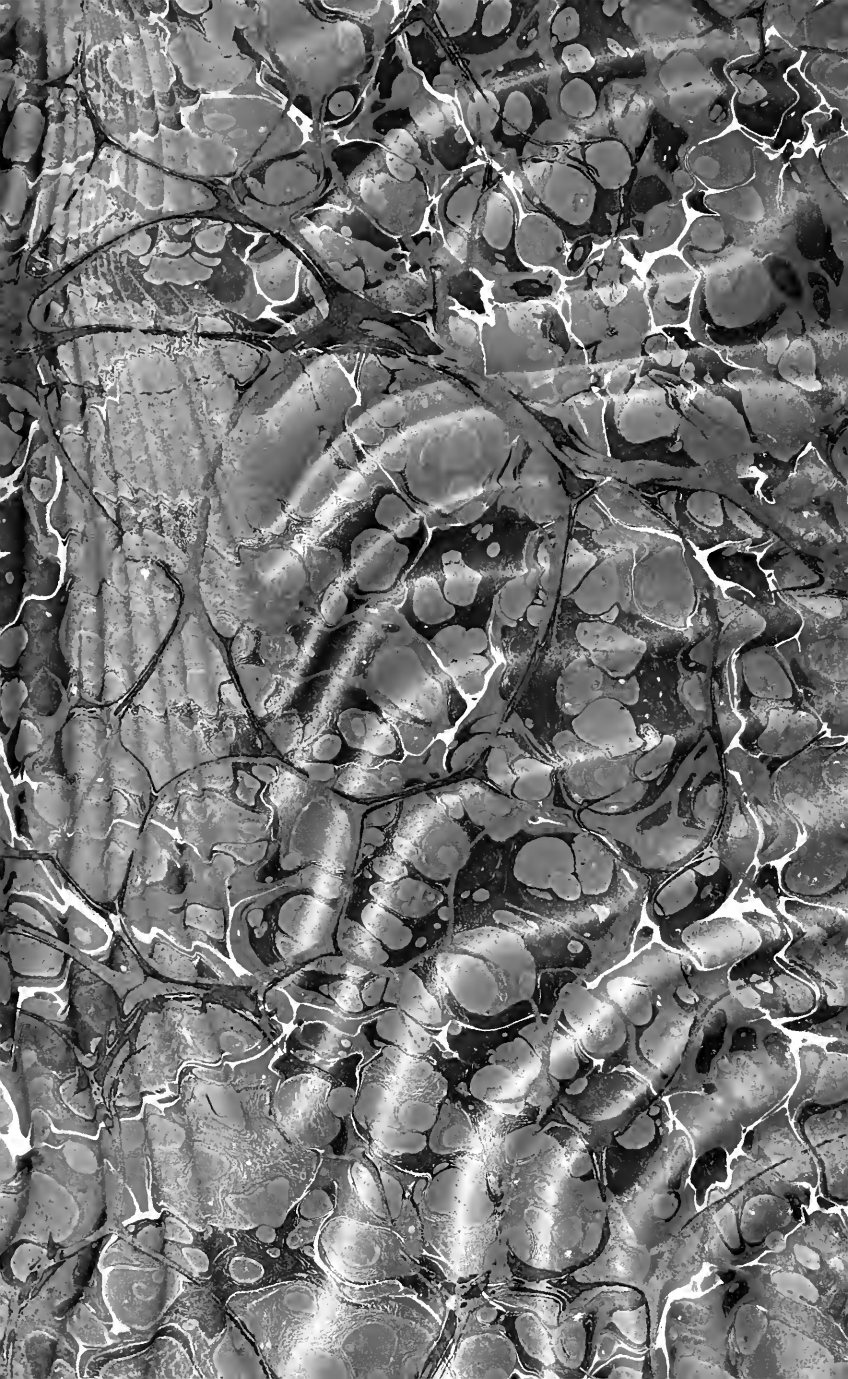

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HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION,

FROM

1789 TO 1814.

BY A. F. MIGNET.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER VIII.

Insurrection of the departments against the proceedings of the 31st May, continued.—Reverses on the frontiers; progress of the Vendeans.—The Mountain decrees the constitution of 1793, and immediately suspends it in order to maintain and strengthen the revolutionary government.—Levy *en masse*.—Law of the suspected.—Victories of the Mountain in the interior and upon the frontiers.—Death of the queen; of the twenty-two Girondists, &c.—Committee of public safety; its power; the members of it.—Republican calendar. The conquerors of the 31st May divide.—The ultra-revolutionary faction of the commune, or Libertists, abolish Catholicism, and decree the worship of Reason; its contest with the committee of public safety; its defeat.—The moderate faction of the Mountain, or Dantonists, try to destroy the revolutionary dictatorship, and to establish legal government; its fall.—The committee of public safety remains alone and triumphant.

THAT the Girondists would not submit to their defeat, and that an insurrection of the

departments against the Mountain and the commune of Paris, would be the consequence of the 31st May, was to be expected. It was the only remaining experiment for them to make: they tried it; but this decisive measure was marked by the same want of concert which had occasioned the loss of their cause in the assembly. But had they even shewn themselves united, it is doubtful whether they would have obtained the victory, and if they had obtained it, it is still more doubtful whether they would have saved the revolution. How could they have effected by law that which the faction of the Mountain only did by violence? How could they have subdued foreign enemies without fanaticism, silenced parties without terror, fed the people without the *maximum*, subsisted the army without exactions? If the result of the 31st May had been directly the reverse, that which was seen at a later period would probably have been displayed from that day, the relaxation of the revolutionary action, the redoubled attacks of Europe, the resumption of arms by all parties, the events of May [prairial] without the power to repress the multitude; those of October [vendemiaire]

without the power to repress the royalists; the invasion, and, according to the policy of the time, the partition of France by the allied powers. The republic was not then strong enough to withstand so many attacks, as it was after the reaction of July [thermidor].

However this might be, the Girondists, who should either have remained together, or fought together, did neither the one nor the other; but after the 2nd June, all the moderate men of the party remained under the decree of arrest, and the residue withdrew to a distance. Vergniaud, Gensonné, Ducos, Fonfrède, were amongst the first: Petion, Barbaroux, Guadet, Louvet, Buzot, Lanjuinais, amongst the second. They retired to Evreux, in the department of the Eure, where Buzot had great influence, and thence to Caen, in the Calvados. They made this town the centre of insurrection. Brittany lost no time in joining it. The insurgents, under the name of the assembly of the departments, convened at Caen, collected an army, gave the command to general Wimphen, arrested the Mountainists Romme and Prieur de la Marne, commissaries of the convention, and prepared to march to Paris. From Caen it was that a

beautiful and brave young maiden, Charlotte Corday, set off to punish Marat, the principal author of the proceedings of the 31st May and 2nd June. She thought to save the republic by sacrificing herself: but the tyranny did not hang upon one man; it depended upon a party, and the state of violence in which the republic was placed. Charlotte Corday,* after having effected her generous but useless enterprise, died with an unalterable serenity and a modest courage, accompanied with the satisfaction of having performed what she conceived a noble action. But Marat became after his assassination an object of still greater enthusiasm than he had been during his life-time. He was invoked in the public squares, his bust was seen in all

* Some of the answers of this heroic girl when before the revolutionary tribunal, are as follow:—"What was your design in killing Marat?"—"To put an end to the troubles of France."—"Is it long since you formed this project?"—"Since the affair of the 31st May, the day of the proscription of the deputies of the people."—"Then you learned from the journals that Marat was an anarchist?"—"Yes, I know that it was he who corrupted France. I have killed," said she, raising her voice to a high pitch, "one man to save a hundred thousand; a depraved wretch to save the innocent; a ferocious monster to procure peace to my country. I was a republican before the revolution, and I never wanted energy."

popular assemblies, and the convention was forced to grant him the honours of the Pantheon.

At the same time Lyons rose up, Marseilles and Bordeaux took arms, and more than sixty departments joined the insurrection. These measures soon caused a general rising of all parties, and the royalists availed themselves of the movements which the Girondists had commenced. Lyons became the centre of the insurrection of the royalists. This city was strongly attached to the ancient order of things: its manufactures in silk, and embroidery in gold and silver, rendered it dependent on the higher classes: it was necessary therefore to declare in good time against a social innovation which confounded old relations, and which, in degrading the nobility and clergy, destroyed its trade. Thus Lyons in 1790, even under the constituent assembly, when the emigrant princes were in its neighbourhood (at the court of Turin) had made attempts at insurrection. Although these attempts, directed by the nobility and clergy, had been repressed, the spirit still remained the same. There, as elsewhere, after the 10th August, a revolution by the multi-

tude, and the establishment of its government, had been attempted. Châlier, a fanatical imitator of Marat, was at the head of the Jacobins, the sans-culottes, and the municipality of Lyons. His audacity had increased since the massacres of September and of 21st January. Nothing however had yet been decided between the lower class of republicans and the middle class of royalists; one of whom possessed the seat of power in the municipality, and the other in the sections. But the contest having become more violent towards the end of May, they fought, and the sections prevailed. The municipality was besieged and taken by storm. Châlier, who withdrew himself, was taken, and some time afterwards executed. The sections not being yet in a situation to throw off their dependence on the convention, excused themselves for what had occurred, by the necessity in which the Jacobins and the members of the municipality had placed them of resorting to violence. The convention, whose existence depended on its boldness, would not listen to them. During these transactions the events of June took place, the insurrection of the Calvados became generally known, and the Lyonese, thus en-

couraged, no longer hesitated to raise the standard of revolt. They put their city in a state of defence; they raised fortifications, formed an army of twenty thousand men, received emigrants amongst them, gave the command of their forces to the royalist Précy and to the marquis de Virieux, and concerted their intended operations with the king of Sardinia.

The revolt of Lyons was the more to be feared by the convention, because, being in the centre of France, it was supported by the south, which took arms, whilst the west was also in motion. At Marseilles, the news of the 31st May had raised the partisans of the Gironde: Rebecqui had resorted thither in great haste; the sections had become re-united; the members of the revolutionary tribunal were put out of the protection of the law; the two representatives, Baux and Antiboul were arrested; and an army of ten thousand men raised to march against Paris. These measures proceeded from the royalists, these, as in other places, only waiting for an opportunity of restoring their party, had at first presented themselves under the semblance of republicans, and had ended by

acting in their own character. They seized upon the sections, and then the commotion no longer operated in favour of the Girondists, but of the counter-revolutionists. As soon as there is a revolt, the party whose opinions go farthest, and whose aim is the most precise, prevails over the rest of its associates. On perceiving the new direction of the insurrection, Rebecqui had thrown himself in despair into Marseilles. The insurgents took the road to Lyons, and their example was quickly followed by Toulon, Nismes, Montauban, and the principal towns of the south. In the Calvados the insurrection became distinguished by the same character of royalism, as soon as the marquis de Puisaye had, at the head of some troops, introduced himself into the ranks of the Girondists. The towns of Bordeaux, Nantes, Brest, and L'Orient, were favourable to those of the Gironde, who were proscribed on the 2nd June, and some actually declared for them; but they afforded no effectual aid, for they were either restrained by the Jacobin party, or diverted by the necessity of opposing the royalists in the west.

The latter, during this almost general rising

of the departments, extended their enterprises. The Vendeans, after their first victories, had seized upon Bressuire, Argenton, and Thouars. Being entirely masters of their own country, they formed the design of occupying the frontiers and of opening the road to the revolutionary part of France, as well as a communication with England. On the 6th June, the Vendean army, composed of forty thousand men, under Cathelineau, Lescure, Stofflet, and Larochejacquelin, marched upon Saumur, which they carried with great spirit. They next prepared to attack and take Nantes, to secure the possession of their own country, and make themselves masters of the river Loire. Cathelineau departed from Saumur at the head of the Vendean troops, leaving a garrison there; took Angers, passed the Loire, made a feint of marching upon Tours and Mans, and then threw himself on the side of Nantes, which he attacked on the right bank, whilst Charette was to attack it on the left.

Everything seemed to conspire to overthrow the convention. Its armies were beaten in the north and at the Pyrenees, and at the same time it was threatened by the Lyonese

in the centre, the Marseillese in the south, the Girondists in one part of the west, and the Vendeans in the other. That military reaction, which, after the brilliant campaigns of Argonne and the Netherlands had taken place, in consequence more especially of the disagreement between Dumouriez and the Jacobins, and between the army and the government, had become much more decided since the defection of the general-in-chief. There was no longer agreement in their operations, ardour in the troops, or concert between the convention, now occupied with its own quarrels, and the dispirited generals. The wreck of Dumouriez's army had been collected together at the camp of Famars, under the command of Dampierre; but they were compelled, after a defeat, to retire under the walls of Bouchain. Dampierre was killed. From Dunkirk to Givet, the frontier was threatened by a superior force. Custine was suddenly recalled from the Moselle to the army of the north, but his presence did not re-establish affairs. Valenciennes, the key of France, was taken; Condé shared the same fate; and the army, driven from one position to another, retired behind the Scarpe

in front of Arras, the last post for retreat between them and Paris. In another quarter, Mayence, suffering from famine, and briskly pressed by the enemy, lost all hope of being relieved by the army of the Moselle, which was then reduced to a state of inaction; and despairing of being able to hold out any longer, it capitulated. The situation of the republic could not be worse.

The convention was in some measure taken by surprise. It was disorganized, because it had just issued from a struggle, and the government of the victors had not yet had sufficient time to become established. After the 2nd June, before the danger became so pressing in the departments and upon the frontiers, the Mountain had sent commissioners from all parts, and had begun to occupy itself with the constitution, which had been so long expected, and from which it hoped so much. The Girondists had been desirous of having it decreed before the 21st January, that, by substituting the order of law for a state of revolution, they might save Louis XVI. They made a similar attempt before the 31st May, that they might avert their own proscription. But the Mountainists

had twice diverted the assembly from this discussion by two strokes of policy,—the sentence of Louis XVI, and the banishment of the Girondists. Being now masters of the field, they hastened to bring back the republicans to their party by decreeing the constitution. Hérault de Sechelles was the legislator of the Mountain, as Condorcet had been of the Gironde. In a few days this new constitution was adopted by the convention, and submitted to the acceptance of the primary assemblies. With the ideas which then prevailed on the subject of democratic government, its nature may be easily conceived. The constituents were looked upon as aristocrats: the law which they had established was considered as an infraction on the rights of the people, because it imposed conditions upon the exercise of political rights; because it did not establish the most absolute equality; because, by its provisions, deputies and magistrates were to be named by the electors, and the electors by the people; because, in certain cases, it limited the sovereignty of the nation, excluding a part of the active citizens from great public offices, and the lowest grade of the people from the

functions of active citizens; lastly, instead of fixing population as the sole basis of rights, it was combined in all its operations with wealth. The constitutional law of 1793 established the pure government of the multitude: not only were the people acknowledged to be the source of all power, but the exercise of that power was delegated to them. A government without limits; an extremely rapid succession in the magistracy; direct elections without any delegation, in which every one joined; primary assemblies, which met at an appointed time without being convened, which named representatives and controuled their acts; a national assembly annually renewed, and which was, properly speaking, nothing more than a committee of the primary assemblies: such was this constitution. As it made over the government to the multitude, as it placed the power in a disorganized body, it would have been at all times impracticable; but at a period of general warfare it was peculiarly so. The faction of the Mountain, instead of extreme democracy, stood in need of the most absolute dictatorship. The constitution was no sooner made than suspended, and the revolutionary government,

whilst they were amending it, was maintained until the peace.

During the discussion of the constitution, and when it was sent to the primary assemblies, the Mountain learned the extent of the danger with which it was threatened. Having to unite three or four parties in the interior, to put an end to civil wars of various kinds, to repair the disasters of the army, and to repel the whole of Europe, these bold men were not intimidated at their situation. The representatives of forty-four thousand municipalities came to accept the constitution. Having, when admitted to the bar of the assembly, signified the consent of the people, they demanded *the arrest of all suspected persons, and a general rising of the people.* "Very well," exclaimed Danton, "let us consent to their wish! The deputies of the primary assemblies have begun to exercise amongst us the system of terror. I demand that the convention, which ought now to feel its whole dignity, for it has just been clothed with the whole authority of the nation; I demand that, by a decree, it invest the commissioners of the primary assemblies with the right to report the state of arms, of provisions, and of am-

munition, to make an appeal to the people, to excite the energy of the citizens, and to put four hundred thousand men in requisition. It is by the sound of our cannon that we must make our constitution known to our enemies! This is the time to take that great and last oath, that we will die, or annihilate the tyrants!" The oath was immediately taken by every one of the deputies and citizens in the hall. A few days afterwards, Barrère, in the name of the committee of public safety—which was revolutionarily composed, and which became the centre of operations and the power which governed the assembly,—proposed still more general measures. "Liberty," said he, "is become the creditor of every citizen; the industry of some, the fortune of others, is due to her; these owe her their counsels, those their arms —all owe her their blood. Thus, then, every Frenchman, each sex, all ages, are called by their country to the defence of liberty. Every physical and moral faculty, all the powers of policy or industry, belong to her; every metal, all the elements, are her tributaries. Let every one occupy his post in the national and military commotion which is now preparing.

The young men shall fight; the married men shall forge arms, transport the baggage and artillery, and prepare the provisions; the women shall make clothes and tents for the soldiers, and extend their kind offices to the wounded in the hospitals; children shall manufacture lint for them, and the old men shall resume the occupation which they had amongst the ancients, shall cause themselves to be carried into the public places, where they shall excite the courage of the youthful warriors, and infuse into all a hatred of kings and propagate the unity of the republic. The national buildings shall be converted into barracks; the market-places into workshops; cellars shall be used for preparing saltpetre; all the saddle-horses will be required for the cavalry, all the carriage-horses for the artillery; fowling-pieces, bayonets, and pikes shall be appropriated for the service of the interior. The republic is nothing more than a great city besieged; France must be nothing more than one vast camp." The measures proposed by Barrère were instantly decreed: all Frenchmen from eighteen to twenty-five years of age took arms; the armies were recruited by levies of men, and contributions of provisions

were levied for its support. The republic had soon forty armies, and twelve hundred thousand soldiers: France became, on the one hand, a camp and a workshop for the republicans, and on the other, a prison for the disaffected. In marching against their avowed enemies, they determined to secure their secret ones, and the famous *law of the suspected* [loi des suspects] was carried. Strangers were arrested on account of their plots, and the partisans of the constitutional monarchy or of a moderate republic were imprisoned, that they might be secured until the peace. This, at the present time, was but a measure of precaution. Merchants, citizens, the middling class, furnished prisoners after the 31st May, as the nobility and clergy had done after the 10th August. A revolutionary army of six thousand soldiers and one thousand artillerymen was created for the interior. Every poor citizen was allowed forty sous a day, that he might assist in the assemblies of the sections. Certificates of citizenship were delivered that they might be assured of the opinion of those who co-operated in the revolutionary movement. They placed the public functionaries under the inspection of the clubs, and formed

a revolutionary committee in each section; on every side they presented a bold front, both to their enemies abroad and the insurgents at home.

Those of the Calvados were easily subdued; at the first onset at Vernon the insurgent troops took to flight. Wimpfen attempted to rally them, but without success. The moderate class, who had joined in the defence of the Gironde, exhibited little ardour, and rendered no effectual aid. When the constitution was generally adopted by the departments, this class availed itself of that opportunity to acknowledge its error in having supposed that it was rising against a factious minority. This retraction occurred at Caen, which had been the centre of the revolt. The commissioners of the Mountain did not stain their first victory by executions. On the other side, general Carteaux, at the head of some troops, marched against the army of the southern sections: he remained master of the field in two engagements, pursued it to Marseilles, and entered the town at its heels. Provence would have been subdued like the Calvados, if the royalists, who had sought refuge in Toulon after their defeat, had not

called the English to their assistance, and placed in their hands this key of France. Admiral Hood took possession of the town in the name of Louis XVII, whom he proclaimed king, disarmed the fleet, transported thither eight thousand Spaniards by sea, occupied the surrounding forts, and compelled Carteaux, who was advancing against Toulon, to fall back upon Marseilles.

Notwithstanding this reverse, the constitutionalists had contrived to isolate the insurrection, and thus effected an important object. The commissioners of the Mountain had made their entrance into the revolted capitals: Robert Lindet into Caen; Talien into Bordeaux; Barras and Fréron into Marseilles. There were only two towns to take, Toulon and Lyons. They ceased to fear a concerted attack from the south, the west, and the centre; and, in the interior, all their enemies were upon the defensive. Lyons was besieged by Kellermann, the general of the army of the Alps; three corps pressed the town on all sides. The old soldiers of the Alps, the revolutionary battalions, and the newly levied troops poured in every day to the assistance of the assailants; but the Lyonese defended themselves

with a courage derived from despair. At first they relied upon the aid of the southern insurgents; but the latter, having been driven back by Carteaux, the Lyonese turned their last hopes to the side of the Piedmontese army, who attempted a diversion in their favour, but they were beaten by Kellermann. Being more warmly pressed, their first positions were carried. Famine made its appearance amongst them, and their courage fell. The royalist leaders, convinced of the uselessness of longer resistance, quitted the town, and the republican army entered its walls, where they awaited the orders of the convention. Some months afterwards Toulon itself, defended by seasoned troops and formidable fortifications, fell into the hands of the republicans. The battalions of the army of Italy, reinforced by those whom the defeat of the Lyonese rendered disposable, attacked the town with great ardour. After repeated attacks and prodigies of valour and skill, they made themselves masters of it: the capture of Toulon completed what that of Lyons had begun.

The convention was everywhere victorious. The Vendeans had failed in their enterprise

against Nantes, after having experienced the loss of many men and of their commander, Cathelineau. This was the last of their aggressive operations, and from that period the fortune of the Vendean insurrection declined. The royalists repassed the Loire, abandoned Saumur, and resumed their old cantonments: they were however still very formidable, and the republicans who pursued them were once more defeated on Vendean ground.

General Biron, who had succeeded Berruyer, continued the war with small bodies of troops with great disadvantage. His moderation and his bad system of attack occasioned his being superseded by Canclaux and Rossignol who were not, however, more successful. There were two chiefs, two armies, and two centres of operation; one at Nantes and the other at Saumur, places under the influence of different parties. General Canclaux could not agree with general Rossignol, nor the commissary of the moderate party of the Mountain, Philipeaux, with Bourbotte, the commissary of the committee of public safety; and this attempt at invasion failed, like the former ones, from want of concert in their measures and union in their operations. The

committee of public safety soon supplied a remedy in appointing commander-in-chief, Léchelle, and in introducing war on a larger scale into La Vendée. This new method, seconded by the garrison of Mayence, consisting of seventeen thousand veterans, who, being no longer able to serve against the coalition after their capitulation, were employed in the interior, changed the face of the war. The royalists experienced four successive defeats; two at Châtillon, and two at Cholet. Lescure, Bonchamps, and d'Ebée, were mortally wounded; and the insurgents, totally defeated in Upper Vendée, fearing if they took refuge in the Lower that they should be exterminated, decided upon quitting their country, to the number of eighty thousand. This emigration across Brittany, in which they hoped to effect an insurrection, proved fatal to them. Repulsed before Granville, completely routed at Mans, they were destroyed at Savenay; and of the wreck of this vast emigration, a few thousand men with difficulty re-entered La Vendée. These irreparable disasters of the royalist cause, the capture of the island of Noirmoutiers from Charette, the dispersion of the troops of this chief, and the death

of La Rochejacquelin, rendered the republicans masters of the country. The committee of public safety thinking, not without cause, that its enemies, although subdued, were not disposed to submission, adopted a terrible system of extermination, to prevent their recovering themselves. General Thurreau surrounded the reduced La Vendée with sixteen entrenched camps; twelve columns, known by the name of the *infernal columns*, scoured the country with fire and sword, explored the woods, carried off those who were collected together, and spread terror throughout this unfortunate country.

The foreign armies had also been driven from the frontiers which they had invaded. After having taken Valenciennes and Condé, blockaded Maubeuge and Le Quesnoy, the enemy had marched upon Cassel, Hondscoote, and Furnes, under the command of the duke of York. The committee of public safety, dissatisfied with Custines, who was also suspected to be a Girondist, replaced him by general Houchard. The enemy, until that period victorious, was defeated at Hondscoote, and forced to retreat. A military reaction commenced with the decisive measures of

the committee of public safety. Houchard himself was dismissed. Jourdan took the command of the army of the north, gained the important victory of Watignies against the prince of Cobourg, forced the enemy to raise the siege of Maubeuge, and reassumed the offensive on this frontier. The same was effected upon all the other frontiers. The immortal campaign of 1793 and 1794 was opened: what Jourdan did with the army of the north, Hoche and Pichegru did with the army of the Moselle, and Kellermann with that of the Alps. The enemy was everywhere repulsed and everywhere held in. The same thing which occurred after the 10th August, took place after the 31st May. The harmony, which had been interrupted between the generals and the leaders of the assembly, was re-established; the revolutionary action, which had abated, again increased; and victory, suspended during this long period, returned to them. Armies, like parties, have their crises, and these crises always produce reverses or success, after the same law.

At the commencement of the war in 1792, the generals were constitutionalists, and the ministers Girondists; Rochambeau, La Fayette, and Luckner, did not agree very well

with Dumouriez, Servan, Claviére, and Roland. There was besides but little ardour in the army: they were beaten. After the 10th August, the Girondist generals Dumouriez, Custines, Kellermann, and Dillon, succeeded the constitutional generals; an unity of object, of confidence, and of action, existed between the army and the government. The events of the 10th August, by shewing them the necessity of victory, increased their energy; and the consequence was the plan of the campaign of Argonne, the victory of Walmy, of Jemmapes, and the invasion of the Netherlands. The struggle between the Mountain and the Gironde, Dumouriez and the Jacobins, once more introduced disagreement between the army and the government, and destroyed the confidence of the troops, who experienced sudden and numerous reverses. There was a revolt on the part of Dumouriez, as there had been on the part of La Fayette. After the 31st May, which was the 10th August against the Gironde; after the committee of public safety had commenced its sittings, and had displaced the Girondist generals Dumouriez, Custines, Houchard, and Dillon, in favour of Jourdan, Hoche, Pichegru,

and Moreau, generals of the faction of the Mountain; after it had re-established the revolutionary movement by the vigorous measures of which we have given an account, the campaign of Argonne and of the Netherlands was renewed in that of 1794, and the genius of Carnot equalled, if it did not surpass, that of Dumouriez.

During the continuance of this war, the committee of public safety abandoned itself to the most terrible executions. Armies destroy only on the field of battle: it is a different thing with parties who, in violent situations, fearing that the struggle may be renewed even after victory, fortify themselves against new attempts by the most inexorable rigour. The practice of all governments being to establish their continuance as a right, those who attack them are enemies whilst they fight, and conspirators when they are conquered, and are therefore killed both by means of war and of the law. All these motives influenced at the same time the policy of the committee of public safety; a policy of vengeance, of terror, and of self preservation. These are the maxims according to which they acted with respect to the insurgent

towns. "The name of Lyons," said Barrére, "ought no longer to exist. You will call it *Ville-Affranchie*, (freed town) and upon the ruins of this infamous city a monument shall be raised which will attest the crime and the punishment of the enemies of liberty. A single word will speak the whole: *Lyons made war against Liberty—Lyons is no more.*" In order to realize this frightful denunciation, the committee sent Collot-d'Herbois, Fouché, and Couthon, into this devoted town, who demolished its buildings and butchered the inhabitants with cannon. The insurgents of Toulon experienced from their representatives, Barras and Fréron, almost a similar fate. At Caen, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, the executions were less general and less violent, for they were proportioned to the importance of the insurrection, which was interior, and not connected with foreign enemies.

In the centre, the dictatorial government aimed a blow at the highest and most distinguished in all the parties with which they were engaged. The condemnation of the queen, Marie Antoinette, was directed against Europe; that of the *twenty-two*, against the Gironde; that of the enlightened Bailly, against the old constitutionalists:

lastly, that of the duke of Orleans, against certain members of the Mountain who were supposed to have entered into a combination to effect his elevation. The unfortunate widow of Louis XVI was the first who was sent to the scaffold by the sanguinary tribunal of the revolution. Those who were proscribed on the 2nd June very soon followed: she perished on the 16th October, and the Girondist deputies on the 31st. There were among the twenty-one, Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Fonfrède, Ducos, Valazé, Lasource, Silléry, Gardien, Carra, Duprat, Beauvais, Duchâtel, Mainvielle, Lacaze, Boileau, Lehardy, Antiboul, and Vigée. Seventy-three of their colleagues, who had protested against their arrest, were also imprisoned, but they durst not inflict upon them the same punishment. During the debates, these illustrious accused displayed the most calm and sustained courage. The eloquent voice of Vergniaud was heard for an instant but in vain. Valazé, on hearing his sentence, dispatched himself with a poniard; and Lasource exclaimed to the judges: "*I die at a moment when the people have lost their reason; you will die the day they shall recover it.*" The prisoners went to their punishment with all the stoicism of that

time. They sung the Marseillaise, applying it to their own situation:

Allons, enfants de la patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé:
Contre nous de la tyrannie
Le couteau sanglant est levé! etc.

Almost all the other chiefs of this party experienced an unhappy fate. Salles, Gaudet, and Barbaroux, were discovered in the caves of Saint Emilion, near Bordeaux, and they perished upon the popular scaffold. Pétion and Buzot, after having wandered about for some time, put an end to their own existence: they were found dead in a field, and half devoured by the wolves. Rabaud Saint Etienne was betrayed by an old friend; madame Roland was also condemned, and displayed the courage of a Roman matron. Her husband, on learning her death, quitted his place of concealment, and killed himself upon the highway. Condorcet, who was outlawed some time after the 2nd June, was discovered as he was flying from the executioner, and he only escaped the scaffold by the aid of poison. Louvet, Kervelegan, Lanjuinais, Henri-la-Rivière, Le Sage, La Réveillère-Lepeaux, were the only ones who

awaited in secure retreat the end of this furious tempest.

The revolutionary government was formed. Before the 31st May, the supreme power was neither in the ministry, in the commune, nor in the convention. It was natural that this power should be concentrated when the want of union and vigorous action was felt. The assembly being the most central, and at the same time most extended authority, the dictatorship would naturally be placed in its hands, be exercised by the dominant faction, and by a few men in that faction. The committee of public safety, which had been some time created in order to provide, as its name indicates, for the defence of the revolution by urgent and extraordinary measures, was a frame of government already made. Being appointed during the divisions between the Mountain and the Gironde, it had been composed of neutral conventionalists until the 31st May; at its first renewal, it became composed of ultra members of the Mountain: Barrère remained, but Robespierre was chosen a member, and his party governed it by Saint-Just, Couthon, Collot-d'Herbois, and Billaud-Varennes. He neutralized a few Dantonists,

who were still members, such as Herault de Séchelles and Robert Lindet; gained Barrère; assumed the government of the committee, by taking upon himself that department which related to public opinion and the police. His associates distributed the remaining departments amongst themselves: Saint-Just took that of the *surveillance* and denunciation of parties; Couthon that of violent propositions which required being mitigated in form; Billaud-Varennes and Collot-d'Herbois directed the proconsulships in the departments; Carnot was occupied with the war; Cambon with the finances; Prieur de la Côte-d'Or, Prieur de la Marne, and some others, with matters relative to the interior and to the administration; and Barrère was the daily orator and the ever-ready eulogist of the dictatorial committee. Below was placed, as an auxiliary in the details of the revolutionary administration, and in measures of minor importance, the committee of general safety, composed in the same spirit as the great committee, and having also twelve members re-eligible every three months, and perpetual in their functions. In the hands of these men the whole revolution-

ary force was placed. In obtaining a decree in favour of the decemviral powers until the peace, Saint-Just had concealed neither the motives nor the end of this dictatorship. "You have no longer any measures to keep with the enemies of the new order of things; liberty ought to have the victory, at whatever price. Under the circumstances in which the republic is placed, the constitution cannot be established; it would become the guarantee of all attempts against liberty, because it would want that violence which is necessary to repress them. The present government also is too much embarrassed. You are too distant from the seats of all these designs; the sword of justice should penetrate into every place with rapidity, and your arms should be everywhere present." Thus was created that terrible power which first destroyed the enemies of the Mountain, afterwards the Mountain and the commune, and which only ended in destroying itself. The committee disposed of everything in the name of the convention, which served as its instrument. It was this power which named and displaced generals, ministers, representative commissaries, judges and juries; it

was it which attacked the different factions; it was it which originated every measure. Through its commissaries, the armies and generals were rendered dependent upon it, and it directed the departments in an absolute manner; by the law of *the suspected,* it disposed of the persons of all; by the revolutionary tribunal, of their lives; by *requisitions* and the *maximum,* of their fortunes; and by the terrified convention, of the decrees of accusation against its own members. Lastly, its dictatorship was supported by the multitude, who deliberated in the clubs, governed in the revolutionary committees, whose cooperation was purchased by a daily allowance, and who were maintained by the *maximum:* it adhered to this government, which exalted its passions, which exaggerated its importance, placed it in the first rank, and appeared to do everything for it. These innovators, separated by the war and by their laws from all states and all forms of government, were desirous of being still further separated from them. They established, for an unheard-of revolution, an entirely new era; they changed the divisions of the year, the names of the months and of the days; for the chris-

tian calendar they substituted the republican calendar, for the week the decade, and made every tenth day, instead of Sunday, the day of rest. The new era was dated from the 22nd September 1792, the epoch of the foundation of the republic. They had twelve equal months, consisting of thirty days each, which commenced on the 22nd September, in the following order: *vendémiaire, brumaire, frimaire,* for the autumn; *nivose, pluviose, ventose,* for the winter; *germinal, floréal, prairial,* for the spring; *messidor, thermidor, fructidor,* for the summer. Each month contained three decades, each decade ten days, and each day received its name from its place in the decade; they were called *primidi, duodi, tridi, quartidi, quintidi, sextidi, septidi, octidi, nonidi, décadi.* The five supernumerary days were thrown to the end of the year, to make up the whole; they were called the Sans-Culottides, and were consecrated, the first to the festival of *Genius,* the second to that of *Labour,* the third to that of *Deeds,* the fourth to that of *Rewards,* the fifth to that of *Opinion.* The constitution of 1793 led to the republican calendar, and the republican calendar to the abolition of christian worship. We shall soon

see the commune and the committee of public safety proposing each their own system: the commune the worship of reason; the committee of public safety the worship of the Supreme Being. But it is first necessary to give an account of a new contest between the authors themselves of the catastrophe of the 31st May.

The commune and the Mountain had effected this revolution against the Gironde, and the committee alone had profited by it. During the five months of which we have just given an account, from June to November, the committee, having taken every measure of defence, had naturally become the first power in the republic. The contest having in some degree terminated, the commune aspired to rule the committee; and the Mountain not to be ruled by it. The municipal faction was the last step of the revolution. Opposed in its aim to the committee of public safety, it wanted, instead of the dictatorship of the convention, the most extreme local democracy, and instead of worship, the consecration of materialism. Political anarchy and religious atheism were the symbols of this party, and the means upon which it relied for

establishing its own domination. A revolution is the effect of different systems which have agitated the age out of which it originates. Thus, during the crisis in France, ultra-montane catholicism was represented by the refractory clergy; Jansenism, by the constitutional clergy; philosophical deism, by the worship of the Supreme Being which was instituted by the committee of public safety; the materialism of the society of Holbach, by the worship of reason and of nature which was decreed by the commune. It was the same with political opinions, from the royalty of the old government to the unlimited democracy of the municipal faction. The last, in Marat, had lost its principal support and real leader, whilst the committee of public safety had kept Robespierre as their's. It had at its head men who enjoyed extreme popularity amongst the lower class. Chaumette, and his substitute Hébert, were its political chiefs; Ronsin, commander of the revolutionary army, its general; and the atheist Anacharsis Clootz, its apostle. It was supported in the sections by the revolutionary committees, which contained many obscure foreigners, who were supposed, and

not without some appearance of truth, to be the agents of England, for the purpose of destroying the republic by driving it to excess and anarchy. The club of the cordeliers was solely composed of its partisans. The old cordeliers of Danton, who had so powerfully contributed to the 10th August, and who had formed the commune of this period, had been taken into the government, into the convention, and they had been replaced in the club by members whom they termed with contempt, *patriots of the third requisition.*

The faction of Hébert, who in Père Duchêne gave popularity to obscene language, and low and cruel sentiments, and who mingled derision with the executions of the victims of his party, made in a little time a formidable progress. They forced the bishop of Paris and his vicars to abjure christianity at the bar of the convention, and the convention to decree that *the worship of reason should be substituted for the catholic worship.* The churches were shut up, or transformed into temples of reason, and in all the towns festivals were established, which exhibited scandalous scenes of atheism. The committee of public safety was alarmed at the

power of this ultra-revolutionary faction, and applied itself to arrest and destroy it. Robespierre soon attacked it [5th December 1793, the 15th frimaire, in the year 2] from the tribune of the assembly. "Representative citizens of the people," said he, "the kings who have combined against the republic make war upon us with armies and with intrigues, and we will oppose to their armies braver armies, and to their intrigues the vigilance and the terror of national justice. Always ready again to weave their secret schemes as soon as they are broken by the hand of patriotism, always dexterous to turn the arms of liberty against liberty herself, the emissaries of the enemies of France are now endeavouring to overturn the republic of France by republicanism, and to kindle the flames of civil war by philosophy." He associated the ultra-revolutionists of the commune with the external enemies of the republic. "You have," said he to the convention, "to prevent the extravagances and follies which concur with the schemes of foreign combination. I ask you to prohibit particular authorities (the commune), from assisting our enemies by undigested measures,

and that no armed force may interfere with that which relates to religious opinions." And the convention, which had, at the request of the commune, strongly applauded abjurations, decreed, at the request of Robespierre, that *all outrages against, and measures contrary to, the freedom of worship were prohibited.*

The committee of public safety was too strong not to triumph over the commune; but it had at the same time to resist the moderate party of the Mountain, who demanded the cessation of revolutionary government, and of the dictatorship of the committees. The revolutionary government had only been created to repress, the dictatorship to conquer; and as repression and victory appeared no longer necessary to Danton and his party, they endeavoured to establish legal authority and the independence of the convention; they wished to put down the faction of the commune, to stop the revolutionary tribunal, to empty the prisons, which were filled with the suspected, to reduce the powers of the committees, and to dissolve them. This scheme of clemency, of humanity, and of lawful government, was conceived by Danton, Phi-

lipeaux, Camille-Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, Lacroix, general Westermann, and all the friends of Danton. They wished, above all things, that the republic should be master of the field of battle; but, after having conquered, they wished for peace.

This party, having become moderate, was deprived of power: it had relinquished the government, or had allowed itself to be excluded by the party of Robespierre. Besides, since the 31st May, the conduct of Danton appeared equivocal to exalted patriots. He had acted faintly on that day, and had since disapproved of the condemnation of *the twenty-two*. They began to reproach him with the disorder of his life, his venal passions, his transitions from one party to another, his ill-timed moderation. To avoid the threatened storm he had retired to Arcis-sur-Aube, and there he appeared to forget everything in repose. During his absence the faction of Hébert had made immense progress, and the friends of Danton recalled him in great haste: he returned at the commencement of December (frimaire). Philipeaux immediately denounced the manner in which the war of La Vendée was conducted: general Wester-

mann, who had gained the victory of Châtillon and of Mans, and who had just been displaced by the committee of public safety, sustained Philipeaux, and Camille-Desmoulins published the first parts of his "Old Cordelier." This brilliant but headstrong young man had followed every movement of the revolution, from the 14th July until the 31st May, approving all its measures and all its excesses. His heart was, however, kind and gentle, although his opinions had been violent and his pleasantries often cruel. He had approved the revolutionary government, because he conceived it indispensable to lay the foundation of the republic; he had co-operated in the ruin of the Gironde, because he feared the dissensions of the republic. The republic! it was to it he had sacrificed even his scruples and his sympathies, his justice and his humanity; he had given ever thing to his party, thinking he had given it to his country; but now he could no longer approve nor be silent. That vigorous enthusiasm which had been employed in the cause of the revolution he turned against those men who, by staining it with blood, were ruining it. In his "Old Cordelier" he spoke of liberty with the pro-

found sense of Machiavel, and of men with the wit of Voltaire. But in recalling the government to moderation, to mercy, and to liberty, he excited against himself both the fanatics and dictators.

He drew a striking picture of the present under the name of a former tyranny. He borrowed his examples from Tacitus. "At this epoch," said he, "conversation became a state offence: thence only one step was necessary in order to convert mere looks, sorrow, pity, compassion, sighs, silence itself, into crime. It was soon considered treason and conspiracy in behalf of a counter-revolution in Cremutius Cordus, to have called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans; the crime of counter-revolution in a descendant of Cassius, to have in his possession a portrait of his great grandfather; the crime of counter-revolution in Mamurcus Scaurus, to have composed a tragedy, containing verses, to which a double meaning might be given; a crime of counter-revolution in Torquatus Silanus, to be of expensive habits; a crime of counter-revolution in Pomponius, because a friend of Sejanus had sought an asylum in one of his country-houses; a crime

of counter-revolution to complain of the miseries of the time, for it was to accuse the government; the crime of counter-revolution in the mother of the consul Fusius Geminus to have wept over the unhappy death of her son.

"It was necessary to manifest joy at the death of a friend or relation, if a man did not wish to expose himself to the same fate. Under Nero, many whose kindred he had put to death went to return thanks to the gods for it. At all events, it was necessary to have an air of contentment: people were afraid, lest fear itself should render them criminal. Everything gave offence to the tyrant. Was a citizen popular? He was a rival of the prince, and might excite a civil war: he was suspected. Did he, on the contrary, shun popularity, and keep at home? This retired life caused him to be observed: he was suspected. Were you rich? There was imminent danger, lest the people should be corrupted by your bounty: you were suspected. Were you poor? You must be more strictly watched; there is no one so enterprising as he who has nothing: you were suspected. Were you of a grave and melancholy character, and of negligent

exterior? The cause of your sadness was the public prosperity: you were suspected. Did a citizen live merrily, and feed luxuriously? It was because the prince was ill: he was suspected. Was he virtuous, austere in his manners? It was a censure upon the court: he was suspected. Was he a philosopher, an orator, a poet? He coveted the possession of more reputation than those who governed: he was suspected. Lastly, had he acquired reputation in war? He was only more dangerous by his talent: it was necessary to get rid of a general, or remove him quickly from the army: he was suspected.

"That a celebrated man, or one merely in office, should die a natural death, was so rare, that historians transmitted it as a memorable event to future ages. The death of so many innocent and commendable citizens seemed a less calamity than the insolence and ill-gotten wealth of their accusers and murderers. Every day, the sacred and inviolable informer made his triumphal entry into the palace of the dead, and brought away some rich inheritance. All these accusers assumed the noblest names; they called themselves Cotta, Scipio, Regulus, Sævius, Severus. Vibius

Serenus, in order to signalize himself by an illustrious beginning, entered an accusation of counter-revolution against his old father, who was already exiled; after which he proudly took upon himself the name of Brutus. Such were the accusers, and such were the judges: the tribunals, the protectors of life and property, had become butcheries; when that which bore the name of punishment and confiscation, was nothing more than robbery and assassination."

Camille-Desmoulins did not confine himself to attacking the revolutionary and dictatorial government; he required the abolition of it: he moved for the establishment of a committee of clemency, as the only means of finishing the revolution and of appeasing parties. His journal produced great effect upon public opinion; it inspired some hope and courage. People inquired of each other in all parts, have you seen the "Old Cordelier?" At the same time Fabre d'Eglantine, Lacroix, and Bourdon de l'Oise, excited the convention to throw off the yoke of the committee; they endeavoured to unite the Mountain, and the right to establish the liberty and power of the assembly. As the committees were all-

powerful, they strove to ruin them by degrees, a course which it was necessary to follow; it was of consequence to change opinion, to encourage the assembly, and, lastly, to oppose a moral against a revolutionary force, the power of the convention against the power of the committee. The Dantonist members of the Mountain attempted to detach Robespierre from the other decemvirs; Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Saint-Just, appeared to them to be the only persons irrecoverably attached to the system of terror. Barrère adhered to it through weakness, Couthon through devotion to Robespierre. They hoped to gain the latter to the cause of moderation through his friendship with Danton, by his notions of order, his austere habits, his public profession of virtue, and his pride. He had defended the sixty-three Girondist deputies against the committees and the Jacobins; he had dared to attack Clootz and Hébert as ultra-revolutionists, and he had induced the convention to decree the existence of the Supreme Being. Robespierre possessed the greatest popularity of any man of his time; he was in some measure the moderator of the republic and the dictator of opinion; in gain-

ing him, they calculated upon succeeding with the committees and the commune without compromising the cause of the revolution.

Danton saw him on his return from Arcis-sur-Aube, and they appeared to be on good terms; attached to the Jacobins, he was defended by him. Robespierre read and himself corrected the "Old Cordelier," and approved of it. At that time he professed some principles of moderation; but then all those who had any share in the revolutionary government, or who considered it indispensable, were in a ferment. Billaud-Varennes and Saint-Just openly supported the policy of the committees. In speaking of the latter, Desmoulins had said, "*He considers himself, so long as he carries his head respectably upon his shoulders, as a Saint Sacrement*" [consecrated host]. —"*And I*," replied Saint-Just, "*will make him carry his like a Saint Denis.*" In the mean time Collot-d'Herbois, who had been out on a mission, arrived; he defended the faction of the fanatics, who had, for a moment, been intimidated. The Jacobins expelled Camille-Desmoulins from their society, and Barrère attacked him in the convention, in the name of the government.

Robespierre himself was not spared: he was accused of *moderatism;* and in the groups which collected, they already began to murmur against him.

As his credit, however, was immense, as they could neither attack nor conquer without him, he was sought after by both sides. Profiting by this superior position, he stood between both parties without adopting either; he endeavoured to put down the leaders of each by those of the other. In this situation, he wished to sacrifice the commune and the anarchists; the committees wished to sacrifice the Mountain and the moderates. They came to an understanding: Robespierre delivered up Danton, Desmoulins, and their friends, to the members of the committee, and the members of the committee delivered up to him Hébert, Clootz, Chaumette, Ronsin, and their accomplices. In at first favouring the moderatists he had prepared the ruin of the anarchists, and he accomplished two ends, which contributed to his domination or to his pride; he ruined a formidable faction, and destroyed a revolutionary reputation, the rival of his own.

Motives of public safety concurred, it must

be confessed, with these combinations of parties. At this period of general outcry against the republic, and of victories which on its part were not yet decisive, the committees did not think that the moment for peace with Europe and their own disaffected had yet arrived, and it appeared impossible for them to continue the war without a dictatorship; besides, they considered the Hébertists as an obscene faction, who, by encouraging anarchy, corrupted the people and assisted the enemy; and the Dantonists, as a party whose political moderation and private immorality compromised and dishonoured the republic. The government therefore proposed to the assembly, through Barrère, the continuation of the war, and an increased activity in its conduct; whilst Robespierre came some days afterwards to require the maintenance of the revolutionary government. He had already declared himself to the Jacobins against the "Old Cordelier," which he had until that time supported. This is the manner in which he repelled legal government. "Without," said he, "tyrants encircle you; within, the friends of tyranny conspire against you, and they will conspire

until crime is divested of hope. We must destroy the internal and external enemies of the republic, or perish with it. But in this situation, the first maxim of your policy ought to be, that the people must be influenced by reason, and the enemies of the people by terror. If the spring of popular government in peace be virtue, the spring of popular government in revolution is at once virtue and terror: virtue, without which terror is fatal; terror, without which virtue is powerless. Subdue then the enemies of liberty by terror, and, as founders of the republic, you will act rightly. The government of the revolution is the despotism of liberty against tyranny."

In this discourse he accused the two factions of the moderates and the ultra-revolutionists, as both wishing to destroy the republic. "They marched," said he, "under different banners and by different roads, but they marched to the same end: that end is the disorganization of popular government, the ruin of the convention, and the triumph of tyranny. One of these factions drives us to weakness, the other to excess."—He prepared the public mind for their banishment, and his

discourse, which was approved without discussion, was sent to all popular societies, to all the authorities, and to the armies.

After this commencement of hostilities, Danton, who had not terminated his connexion with Robespierre, demanded an interview: it took place at Robespierre's house, but they were cold and bitter. Danton complained violently, and Robespierre was reserved. "I know," said Danton, "all the hatred which the committee bears me, but I do not fear it."—"You are wrong," replied Robespierre; "there are no evil intentions against you, but it is good to explain one's self."—"Explain one's self! explain one's self!" retorted Danton; "for that, good faith is necessary." And, observing Robespierre to assume a grave air at these words, "Without doubt," added he, "it is necessary to suppress the royalists, but we only ought to strike blows which are useful to the republic, and it is not necessary to confound the innocent with the guilty."—"Ah! who has told you," replied Robespierre sharply, "that they have caused an innocent person to perish?" Whereupon Danton turned to one of his friends who had accompanied him, and asked, with a bitter smile, "What

sayest thou? Not an innocent has perished!" After these words they separated: all the bonds of friendship were broken.

A few days afterwards Saint-Just mounted the tribune, and threatened more openly than they had yet done all the disaffected, whether moderates or anarchists. "Citizens!" said he, "you have wished for a republic; if you did not wish at the same time for that which constitutes one, it would bury the people under its ruins. That which constitutes a republic is the destruction of all that is opposed to it. They are culpable against the republic who compassionate the detained; they are culpable, who do not desire virtue; they are culpable, who do not desire terror. What do you wish, you who do not desire virtue in order to be happy (the anarchists)? What do you wish, you who do not desire terror against the evil-disposed (the moderates)? What do you wish, you who run through the public squares that you may be seen, and that it may be said of you, See! see! such a one is passing (Danton)? You will perish, you who run to fortune; you who appear with a haggard look and affect the patriot, that the enemy may purchase you, or the government give you a

place; you of the faction of the lenient, who wish to save criminals; you of the faction of foreigners, who turn your severity against the defenders of the people! Measures are already taken to secure the guilty; they are surrounded. Thanks to the genius of the French people, that liberty hath escaped from one of the greatest crimes that ever was meditated against her! The development of this vast plot, the terror which it will diffuse, and the measures which will be proposed to you, will disencumber the republic and the earth of all the conspirators."

Saint-Just obtained for the government the most extensive powers against the conspirators of the commune; he procured a decree, that *justice* and *probity* were the order of the day. The anarchists knew not what measures of defence to take; at one moment they veiled the *rights of man* in the club of the cordeliers, and they attempted to commence an insurrection, but without vigour and without concert. People did not move, and the committee caused the deputy Hébert, the revolutionary general Ronsin, Anacharsis Clootz the orator of the human race, Monmoro, Vincent, &c. to be seized by its commandant

Henriot. They were conducted before the revolutionary tribunal, as agents of a foreign power, and as having conspired to give a tyrant to the state. This tyrant was to have been Pache, under the name of the Grand Judge. As soon as the anarchist chiefs were taken, their boldness forsook them; most of them defended themselves, and died without courage. The committee of public safety disbanded the revolutionary army, diminished the privileges of the committees of the sections, and compelled the commune to come to the convention, to thank them for the arrest and punishment of the conspirators, their accomplices.

It was time for Danton to defend himself: the proscription, after having reached the commune, approached him. He was recommended to be upon his guard, and to act; but having failed in destroying the dictatorial power, by exciting public opinion and the assembly, by means of the journalists and his friends of the Mountain, upon what could he rely? The convention inclined favourably towards him and his cause, but it was a slave to the revolutionary power of the committees. Danton, having neither the government, nor

the assembly, nor the commune, nor the clubs, waited for his banishment without taking a step to avert it. His friends implored him to defend himself. "I would rather," replied he, "be guillotined than guillotine; besides, my life is not worth the trouble, and I am weary of humanity. The members of the committee seek my death. Well," (with warmth) "if ever . . . . if Billaud . . . . if Robespierre . . . . they will be execrated as tyrants; the house of Robespierre will be rased; there salt will be sown, and upon the same spot a gibbet, dedicated to the punishment of crime, will be planted! But my friends will say of me, that I have been a good father, a good friend, a good citizen; they will not forget me."—"Thou mayest avoid"—"I would rather be guillotined than guillotine."—"But in that case you must escape."—Then turning towards them, and raising his lip with disdain and anger, "Escape! . . . Can a man carry away his country at the sole of his shoe?"

One resource alone remained to Danton, and that was to try his voice, so well known and so powerful, to denounce Robespierre and the committees, and to rouse the convention against their tyranny. He was warmly pres-

sed by it, but he knew too well how difficult it is to overturn an established domination; he knew too well the subserviency and terror of the assembly, to rely upon the efficacy of such a means. He waited then, he who had dared so much, in full confidence that his enemies would recoil before the proscription of such a man. On the 30th March [10th germinal] they came to announce to him that his arrest was a subject of debate in the committee of public safety, and they pressed him once more to fly. After considering for a moment, he replied, *They dare not!* That night his house was surrounded, and he was conducted to the Luxembourg with Camille-Desmoulins, Philipeaux, Lacroix, and Westermann: on his entrance, he cordially addressed the prisoners, who thronged about him. "Gentlemen," said he, "I did hope in a little time to have freed you from this place, but you see me here myself with you, and I don't know now how it may end." One hour afterwards he was put *au secret*, and shut up in that prison which Hébert had inhabited, and which Robespierre was destined very soon to occupy. There, delivering himself up to his reflections and to his regret, he re-

marked, "At a similar period I was the means of instituting the revolutionary tribunal: I beg pardon of God and man; but it was not instituted that it might be the scourge of humanity."

His arrest produced a gloomy inquietude, a general murmur. The next day, at the opening of the assembly, they spoke in a low tone of voice, they inquired with alarm what was the pretext for this new piece of state policy against the representatives of the people. "Citizens!" said Legendre, "four members of this assembly were arrested last night; I know that Danton is one of them; I am ignorant of the names of the others. But, citizens, I declare it, I believe Danton to be as pure as myself, and yet he is in irons. They fear, no doubt, lest his answers should destroy the accusations brought against him; I demand, therefore, that before you receive any report, the detained persons be sent for and heard." This motion was received favourably, and gave one moment's courage to the assembly; some members required that it should be put to the vote, but this good inclination lasted but a little while. Robespierre appeared in the tribune. "By the distur-

bance, for a long time unknown, which reigns in this assembly," said he; "by the agitation produced by the words of him you have just heard, it is easy to perceive that the subject of debate is of great interest; that the question now is, if a few individuals shall this day prevail against their country. We shall this day see if the convention be able to break in pieces a pretended idol, which has been for a long time rotten, or if on its fall it will crush the convention and the people of France." A few words only from him were sufficient to restore silence and subordination in the assembly, to restrain the friends of Danton, and to make Legendre himself retract. Immediately afterwards Saint-Just entered the hall, followed by the other members of the committee. He read a long report against the arrested members, in which he accused their opinions, their political conduct, their private life, and their projects; making them, by improbable but subtle conclusions, the accomplices of all conspiracies, and the agents of all parties. The assembly, after having listened to it without a murmur, and with an approving stupor, decreed unanimously and even with applause, the accusation of Danton

and his friends. Every one sought to gain time with tyranny, and delivered up to it the heads of others to save his own.

The accused were transferred before the revolutionary tribunal: they appeared there with a brave and proud air: they displayed a boldness of expression and a contempt for their judges which were by no means common. Danton replied to the president Dumas, who interrogated him in the usual manner, as to his name, his age, and abode: "I am Danton, well enough known in the revolution; I am thirty-five years of age; my abode will soon be nothing, and my name will live in the temple of history." His disdainful and violent answers, the cold and measured discussion of Lacroix, the austerity of Philipeaux, the enthusiasm of Desmoulins, began to excite the people. But the accused were soon silenced, under pretence that they failed in respect to justice, and they were immediately condemned, without further hearing. "We are sacrificed," exclaimed Danton, "to the ambition of a few cowardly brigands; but they will not long enjoy the fruit of their criminal victory. I drag Robespierre . . . Ro-

bespierre follows me." They were conducted to the Conciergerie, and thence to the scaffold.

They went to their punishment with the confidence which was common at this period. Many troops were called out, and their escort was very numerous. The crowd, generally noisy and approving, was silent. Camille-Desmoulins, upon the fatal cart, was still astonished at his condemnation, and could not comprehend it: "This," said he, "is the reward destined to the first apostle of liberty." Danton carried his head high, and cast a calm and proud look around him. At the foot of the scaffold he melted for a moment: "O my well beloved!" cried he, "O my wife! then I shall never see thee more!" But, instantly checking himself,—"Danton, no weakness!" Thus perished the tardy, but last defenders of humanity, of moderation; the last who wished for peace between the conquerors of the revolution, and mercy to the vanquished. After them, no voice was heard for some time against the dictatorship of terror; it struck its reiterated and silent blows from one end of France to the other. The Girondists had

wished to prevent this violent reign, the Dantonists wished to stop it: all perished; and the rulers, the more enemies they counted, the more victims they had to dispatch. Men do not stop in such a sanguinary career until they themselves perish. The decemvirs, after the decisive fall of the Girondists, had made *terror* the order of the day; after that of the Hébertists, *justice* and *probity,* because the latter were of a licentious faction; after the fall of the Dantonists, *terror* and all the *virtues,* because they called them *the indulgents* and *the immoral.*

CHAPTER IX.

Increase of terror; its cause.—System of the democrats; Saint-Just.—Power of Robespierre.—Festival of the Supreme Being.—Couthon presents the law of 22nd prairial, which reorganizes the revolutionary tribunal; troubles, debates, and obedience of the convention.—The active members of the committees separate; on one side are Robespierre, Saint-Just, and Couthon; on the other, Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, and the members of the committee of general safety.—Projects of Robespierre; he absents himself from the committees, and relies upon the Jacobins and the commune.—The 27th July [8th thermidor] he demands the renewal of the committees; he does not succeed.—Session of 28th July [9th thermidor]; Saint-Just denounces the committees; he is interrupted by Talien: Billaud-Varennes attacks Robespierre: violent complaints of the convention against the triumvirs; they are put under arrest.—The commune rises and delivers the prisoners.—Danger and courage of the convention; it outlaws the insurgents.—The sections declare for it.—Defeat and punishment of Robespierre and the insurgents.

During the four months which succeeded the fall of Danton's party, the committees exercised their power without opposition, and without restraint. Death became the sole means of government, and the republic was abandoned to daily and systematic executions. It was then that they invented the con-

spiracies of the prisons, filled by the *law of the suspected*, and which they emptied by that of 11th June, [22nd prairial] which may be called the *law of the condemned:* it was then that the instruments of the committee of public safety entirely replaced in the departments those of the Mountain; and it was then that men saw Carrier, the *protégé* of Billaud, in the west; in the south, Maignet, the *protégé* of Couthon; in the north, Joseph Lebon, the *protégé* of Robespierre. The wholesale extermination which had been practised against the enemies of the democratic dictatorship at Lyons and at Toulon, by the mitrailades,* became still more horrible by the drownings of Nantes, by the guillotines of Arras, of Paris, and of Orange.

May this example teach a truth, which, for the welfare of man, ought to be common: it is that, in a revolution, every thing depends upon a first refusal and a first struggle: that an innovation may be peaceful, it is necessary that it should not be contested; otherwise, war is declared, and the revolution is extended; because the whole population is ex-

* The firing of cannon, loaded with cannon shot, upon a number of individuals tied together.

cited in order to defend it. When society is thus shaken to its foundations, they who are most daring triumph, and, instead of wise and moderate reformers, it has no other than extreme and inflexible ones. Sprung from contention, they wish to support themselves by it: with one hand they fight to defend their domination, with the other they lay the foundation of their system: they kill in the name of their principles: virtue, humanity, the welfare of the people, all that is most sacred upon earth, they employ to sanction their executions, to protect their dictatorship, until they are worn out and fall. Both the enemies and the partisans of the reformation perish without distinction; the tempest impels and shatters the whole nation against the revolution. If we enquire what has become, in 1794, of the men of 1789, we shall find them all equally cast away in this great shipwreck. As soon as one party appeared upon the field of battle, all the others followed, and all the others like it were, by turns, vanquished and exterminated: both the constitutionalists, and the Girondists, and the mountainists, and even the decemvirs themselves. At each effusion of blood, the system of tyranny became more

violent. The decemvirs were the most inexorable, because they were the last.

The committee of public safety, exposed to the attacks of Europe, and to the hatred of so many defeated parties, imagined that the relaxation of violence would occasion its destruction; it wished at the same time to repress its enemies, and to get rid of them. "There are none but the dead who do not return," said Barrère. "The more the social body perspires," said Collot d'Herbois, "the healthier it becomes." But the decemvirs, not supposing their power was transient, aspired to found a democracy; and, in establishing institutions, sought a guarantee for that time when they should renounce punishments. They possessed in the highest degree the fanaticism which distinguished certain social theories, as the Fifth-monarchy-men of the English revolution (to whom they may be compared) possessed that of certain religious ideas. Those proceeded from the people, as the others from God; the first desired the most absolute political equality, as the others evangelical equality; the first aspired to the reign of virtue, as the other to the reign of the saints. In all affairs, human nature runs into extremes, and pro-

duces, in a religious age, christian democrats; in a philosophic age, political democrats.

Robespierre and Saint-Just were the authors of the plan of this democracy, the principles of which they professed in all their discourses; they wished to change the manners, the habits, and the spirit of France; they wished to establish a republic in the manner of the ancients. The government of the people, magistrates without pride, citizens without vice, fraternity of relations, the worship of virtue, simplicity, austerity of character; these were what they pretended to establish. The sacramental words of this sect will be found in all the discourses of the reporters of the committee, especially of those of Saint-Just and Robespierre. *Liberty* and *equality* for the government of the republic, *indivisibility* for its form, *public safety* for its defence and preservation, *virtue* for its principle, and the *Supreme Being* for its worship: as to the citizens, *fraternity* in their mutual relations, *probity* for their conduct, *good sense* for their mind, and *modesty* for their public actions, which ought to tend to the good of the state and not to the benefit of themselves: such were the symbols of this democracy. Fana-

ticism cannot go any further. The authors of this system never examined if it were practicable; they thought it just and natural, and, having the power in their hands, they wished to establish it by force. Not one of these words but has been used for the condemnation of a party or an individual. The royalists and aristocrats were pursued in the name of liberty and equality; the Girondists, in the name of indivisibility; Philipeaux, Camille-Desmoulins, and the moderates, in the name of public safety; Chaumette, Anacharsis Clootz, Gobel, Hébert, all the anarchist and atheist party, in the name of virtue and the Supreme Being; Chabot, Bazire, Fabre d'Eglantine, in the name of probity; Danton, in the name of virtue and modesty. These moral crimes, in the eyes of the fanatics, contributed to their distinction as much as the conspiracies with which they reproached them.

Robespierre was the patron of this sect, which had in the committee a more fanatic and disinterested zealot than him; it was Saint-Just, who was called the *Apocalyptic*. His features were regular, but on a large scale, with a forcible and melancholy expression; his eye was penetrating and steady, his hair

long, straight, and black; his manners were cold, although his soul was ardent: simple in his habits, austere, sententious, he proceeded unhesitatingly to the accomplishment of his system. Scarcely twenty-five years of age, he was the boldest of the decemvirs, because he was the most convinced of them. Passionately attached to the republic, he was indefatigable in the committees, intrepid in his missions to the armies, where he gave an example of courage, and shared the fatigues and dangers of the soldiers. His predilection for the multitude did not lead him to flatter its inclinations; and far from assuming its costume and its language, like Hèbert, he wished to invest it with ease, seriousness, and dignity. But his policy rendered him still more formidable than his popular faith. He possessed audacity, presence of mind, tact, and firmness. Little susceptible of pity, he reduced his measures of public safety into proper forms, and afterwards put these forms in execution. If victory, banishment, dictatorship, appeared necessary to him, he immediately demanded them. Distinguished from Robespierre, he was a real man of action. Robespierre, perceiving all the advantage

which might be derived from him, had attached himself to him at an early period of the convention: Saint-Just, on his side, had been attracted towards Robespierre by his reputation for incorruptibility, by his austere life, and by the conformity of their ideas. It is obvious how terrible this association must be, on account of the popularity, the envious and imperious passions of the one, and the inflexible character and systematic views of the other. Couthon, who was personally devoted to Robespierre, joined them. Although he had a mild countenance, and a half paralyzed body, he was a pityless fanatic. They formed, even in the committee, a triumvirate anxious to secure the whole power to itself. This ambition alienated from them the other members of the committee, and finally destroyed them. The triumvirate governed absolutely the convention, and even the committee. When it was necessary to intimidate the committee, Saint-Just was intrusted with the report; when they wished to surprise it, Couthon was employed: if there was any murmur or hesitation, Robespierre shewed himself, and with a single word made them sink again into silence and apprehension.

For the two first months after the fall of the commune and of the party of Danton, the decemvirs, who were not yet divided among themselves, laboured to strengthen their power. Their commissioners kept the departments in subjection, and the armies of the republic were every where victorious upon the frontiers. The committees availed themselves of this moment of security and union to lay the foundation of new manners and new institutions. It is never to be forgotten, that in a revolution men are excited by two inclinations, love of their own ideas and a thirst for rule. The members of the committee, in the beginning, were agreed in their democratic ideas; in the end, they fought for power.

Billaud-Varennes presented the theory of the popular government and the means of keeping the army in subjection to the nation. Robespierre pronounced a discourse upon moral ideas and the solemnities becoming a republic; he caused the decadery festivals to be dedicated to the Supreme Being, to truth, to justice, to modesty, to friendship, to frugality, to good faith, to glory and immortality, to misfortune, &c. in short, to all the moral and republican virtues. In this manner he pre-

pared for the establishment of the new worship of the Supreme Being. Barrère made a report on the extirpation of mendicity, and upon the relief which the republic ought to afford to indigent citizens. All these reports were transformed into decrees, according to the view of the democrats. Barrère, whose customary discourses to the convention were calculated to disguise from it its slavery, was one of the most supple instruments of the committee; he adhered to the government of terror neither through fanaticism nor cruelty. His manners were mild, his private life irreproachable, and his spirit distinguished by great moderation: but he was timid; and after having been a constitutional royalist before the 10th August, a moderate republican before the 31st May, he was become the panegyrist and partner of the decemviral tyranny. From this we may observe, that if a man is deficient in vigour and strength of character, he ought not to take an active part in a revolution. The mind alone is not sufficiently inflexible; indeed it is too accommodating; it finds out reasons for everything, even for that which disgusts or terrifies it; it never knows when to stop in times

when it should always be ready for death, and to finish its last act at that point where its opinions terminate.

Robespierre, who was considered the founder of this moral democracy, then arrived at the highest degree of elevation and power. He became the general object of the flattery of his party; he was the *great man* of the republic; nothing was spoken of but his virtue, his genius, his eloquence. Two circumstances contributed still more to increase his importance. On the 23rd May [3rd prarial] an obscure, but intrepid individual, named Admiral, resolved to deliver France from Robespierre and Collot d'Herbois. He waited for Robespierre the whole day, but fruitlessly, and in the evening he determined upon attempting to take the life of Collot. He fired at him twice with pistols, but missed him. The next day, a young girl, named Cecily Renault, presented herself at Robespierre's door, and entreated to speak with him. As he was gone out, and she still insisted upon admission, they arrested her. She had a small bundle, and two knives were found upon her. "What motive," said they, "has brought you to Robespierre's?"—

"I wanted to speak to him."—"On what business?"—"That would depend upon how I had found him."—"Do you know the citizen Robespierre?"—"No; I only endeavoured to know him, and I have been at his house to see how a tyrant was made."—"What use did you propose to make of your two knives?"—"None; having no intention to harm any one."—"And your bundle?"—"It contains linen for change in the place to which I am to be conducted."—"Where?"—"In prison, and thence to the guillotine." The unfortunate girl was conducted there, and even her family was involved in her ruin.

Robespierre received marks of the most intoxicating adulation. At the Jacobins and in the convention his safety was attributed to the good genius of the republic, and to the Supreme Being whose existence he had on the 8th May [18th floréal] caused to be decreed. The celebration of the new worship throughout France had been fixed for the 9th June [20th prairial]. On the 5th June, Robespierre was unanimously voted president of the convention, that he might act as pontiff at the approaching festival. He appeared in the ceremony at the head of the

assembly, his face beaming with confidence and joy, an expression which was by no means common to him. He walked alone fifteen paces before his colleagues in a splendid costume, with flowers and spices in his hand, and was the object of general attention. Every one expected that something would happen on that day; the enemies of Robespierre, that there would be attempts at usurpation; the persecuted parties, that there would thenceforth be a milder government. He deceived the expectation of everybody; he harangued the people as a chief priest, and he concluded his discourse, in which they looked for indications of happier times, by these discouraging words:—"People! to-day let us give ourselves up to uncloyed pleasure! To-morrow we will again attack vice and tyranny!"

Two days afterwards, the 11th June [22nd prairial], Couthon brought a new law before the convention. The revolutionary tribunal aimed its vengeance with great docility at all those who had been pointed out to it: royalists, constitutionalists, anarchists, members of the Gironde and of the Mountain, had been equally devoted to death. But he did not

proceed quick enough to satisfy the systematic exterminators, who desired, at whatever price, promptly to get rid of their prisoners. Some forms were still observed—those they suppressed. "All dilatoriness," said Couthon, "is a crime; every indulgent formality is a public danger: the delay to be allowed for in the punishment of the enemies of their country ought to be the time of their discovery only." The accused had been allowed counsel to defend them; they were allowed them no more. *To calumniated patriots, the law assigns sworn patriots to defend them; it allows none to conspirators.* They had been tried individually; they were now tried in heaps. Some discrimination had been exercised even in revolutionary crimes; they now declared *all the enemies of the people guilty,* and *all those who endeavoured to annihilate liberty, either by force or fraud,* the enemies of the people The divisions of the juries had been regulated by the law; now they had no other rule than their own conscience. A single tribunal, Fouquier Thinville, and some jurymen, were insufficient for the increase of victims which the new law portended. The tribunal was distributed into four sections,

the numbers of judges and jurymen were augmented, and four substitutes were assigned to the public accuser as auxiliaries. Finally, the deputies of the people could not be brought to trial except by the decree of the convention; the law was framed in such a manner, that they might now be so by the sole order of the committee. The *law of the suspected* caused that of *prairial.*

As soon as Couthon had made his report, a murmur of fear and astonishment ran through the assembly. "If this law passes," cried Ruamps, "we shall have nothing to do but to blow out our brains. I move an adjournment." The adjournment was supported, but Robespierre mounted the tribune: "For a long time," said he, "the national convention has discussed and decreed upon the spot, because for a long time it has not been subjected to the empire of faction. I move, that without waiting for the question of adjournment, the convention continue its discussions until eight o'clock at night, if necessary, on the law which is submitted to it." Immediately the debate commenced, and in thirty minutes after, a second reading of the decree was adopted. But the next

day some members, still more frightened at the law than at the committee, returned to the discussion of the preceding evening. The Mountainists, friends of Danton, fearing that the new regulation which left the representatives at the mercy of the decemvirs, proposed to the convention to provide for the safety of its members. Bourdon de l'Oise was the first who, with this view, took up the subject; he was supported. Merlin, by a dexterous preamble, re-established the ancient safeguard of the conventionalists, and the assembly adopted the preamble of Merlin. By degrees, objections were made to the decree, the courage of the Mountain increased, and the discussion became very warm. Couthon attacked the Mountain. "Let them know," cried Bourdon de l'Oise to him, "let the members of the committee know, that if they are patriots, we are equally so! Let them know, that I will not answer with bitterness the reproaches which they have cast upon me? I esteem Couthon, I esteem the committee, but I also esteem the unshaken Mountain, who have rescued liberty!" Robespierre, surprised at this unusual resistance, next rushed to the tribune;

"The convention," said he, "the Mountain, the committee, are the same thing! Every representative of the people, who sincerely loves liberty; every representative of the people, who is determined to die for his country, is the Mountain! It would be an outrage to the country, it would be to assassinate the people, to suffer a few intriguers, more contemptible than the rest because they are more hypocritical, to attempt to carry away a portion of this Mountain, and to make themselves the chiefs of a party!"—"It never," said Bourdon, "entered into my mind to make myself the chief of a party."—"It would," continued Robespierre, "be the excess of disgrace, that a few of our colleagues, misled by calumny as to our intentions . . ."—"I demand that he proves what he says," replied Bourdon; "it has been just said, explicitly enough, that I am a villain."—"I have not named Bourdon. Woe to him who names himself! Yes, the Mountain is pure, it is noble, and the intriguers are not of the Mountain."—"Name them."—"I will name them whenit is needful." The menaces, the imperious tone of Robespierre, the support of the other decemvirs, the fear which spread from one

to another, produced complete silence. The preamble of Merlin was revoked as injurious to the committee of public safety, and the law passed entire. From this time the cramming of the prisons [fournées] took place, and every day fifty of the condemned were put to death. This terror within terror lasted about two months.

But the end of this system approached. The session of prairial was the last period of the union of the members of the committee. For some time secret dissensions had existed amongst them. They had acted in concert so long as they had to combat together, but they ceased to do so the moment they found themselves alone in the arena, with the habit of conflict and the want of domination. Besides, their opinions were not entirely the same; the democratic party was divided by the fall of the old commune; Billaud-Varennes, Collotd-'Herbois, and the principal members of the committee of general safety, Vadier, Amar, Vouland, adhered to this discomfited faction, and preferred the worship of reason to that of the Supreme Being. They shewed themselves also jealous of the fame, and disturbed at the power of Robes-

pierre, who, on his side, was irritated at their secret disapprobation, and at the obstacles which they opposed to his wishes. The latter at this period conceived the design of putting down the most enterprising members of the Mountain,—Talien, Bourdon, Legendre, Fréron, Rovère, &c., and his rivals in the committee.

Robespierre had a prodigious force at his disposal: the lowest order, who saw the revolution in his person, supported him as the representative of its doctrines and its interests; the armed force of Paris commanded by Henriot, was at his beck. He ruled at the Jacobins, into which he admitted or expelled members at pleasure; all important places were filled with his creatures; he had himself formed the revolutionary tribunal and the new commune, by substituting the national agent Payan for the procureur-general Chaumette, and the mayor Fleuriot for Pache. But what was his intention in granting the most influential situations to new men, and in separating himself from the committee? Did he aspire to the dictatorship? Did he wish that he alone should arrive at his democracy of *virtue* by the ruin of the remains of the *immo-*

ral members of the Mountain and the *factious* members of the committee? His conduct may be equally well explained by the desire of usurpation or by popular fanaticism: in putting down the most elevated of the republic, he appears to have practised the advice which the elder Tarquin gave to his son. Each party had lost its chiefs: the Gironde, the *twenty-two;* the commune, Hébert, Chaumette, and Ronsin; the Mountain, Danton, Chabot, Lacroix, and Camille-Desmoulins. But Robespierre had always, in proscribing the chiefs, protected the multitude. He had defended the *sixty-three*, who were in confinement, against the denunciations of the Jacobins and the hatred of the committee; he had no opposition to apprehend to his projects, except from a small number of the Mountain, and the conventional government. Against this double obstacle he directed his efforts in the last moments of his career. It is probable that he did not separate the republic from his protectorate, and that he conceived he should lay the foundation of them both upon the ruin of the other parties.

The committees attacked Robespierre in their own way. They laboured secretly at

his ruin, and whispered about accusations of tyranny against him; they induced the people to look upon the establishment of his form of worship as the forerunner of his usurpation; they recalled his proud bearing in that day of intoxication the 9th June [20th prairial], the distance at which he placed himself from the national convention itself. Amongst themselves they called him *Pisistratus*, and this name had already become familiar. A circumstance, which would have been insignificant at another time, afforded them the opportunity of attacking him in an indirect manner: an old woman, named Catherine Théot, played the prophetess in an obscure corner, surrounded by a few mystical sectaries: she was called the Mother of God, and she announced the approaching advent of a redeeming Messiah. With her was associated a former colleague of Robespierre in the constituent assembly, the carthusian friar Dom Gerle, who had a certificate of citizenship from Robespierre himself. The committees, in discovering the mysteries of the Mother of God and her predictions, pretended to believe that Robespierre availed himself of this means to gain the fanatics, and to get his elevation de-

clared. They changed her name of Théot to that of Theos, which signifies God; and in the Messiah whom she announced, they dexterously pointed out Robespierre. The elder Vadier was intrusted, in the name of the committee of public safety, with the report against the new sect. He was vain and artful; he denounced those who had been initiated in the mysteries, turned their rites into ridicule, mixed up Robespierre with them, without naming him, and caused the fanatics to be sent to prison. Robespierre wished to save them. The conduct of the committee of general safety deeply irritated him, and in the club of the Jacobins he spoke of the harangues of Vadier with anger and contempt. He experienced fresh difficulties in the committee of public safety, who refused to prosecute those whom Robespierre proscribed. From that time he no longer appeared amongst his colleagues in the government, and but rarely assisted in the session of the convention; but he went regularly to the Jacobins, and it was from the tribune of this club that he conceived he should ruin his enemies, as he had hitherto done.

Naturally sad, suspicious, and fearful, he

became more gloomy and more distrustful. He never went out without being accompanied by a troop of Jacobins, armed with bludgeons, who were called his body-guard. He soon commenced his denunciations in the popular society: "We must," said he "drive out of the convention all these corrupt men," meaning the friends of Danton. Robespierre had them watched with the most minute anxiety. Every day the spies attached to their steps followed all their movements, and apprised him of their proceedings, of their meetings, and of their expressions. Robespierre not only attacked the Dantonists at the Jacobins, he impeached the committee itself, and for that purpose he selected a day when Barrère presided at that society. After the session, the latter returned discouraged to his house. "I am sick of men," said he to the juryman Villate.—"What," said the latter, "can have been his reason for attacking you?" —"This Robespierre is insatiable," returned Barrère; "because we do not do all that he wishes, he must needs break with us. If he speaks to us of Thuriot, Guffroi, Rovère, Lecointre, Panis, Cambon, Monestier, and the Dantonist remnant, we should under-

stand each other; let him demand Talien, Bourdon de l'Oise, Legendre, Fréron, all in good time . . . but Duval, but Audoin, but Léonard Bourdon, Vadier, Vouland, it is impossible to consent to it." To give up the members of the committee of general safety, was to strike the first blow at themselves. They therefore remained firm, but waited for the attack, and dreaded it. Robespierre was very formidable. Both on account of his power, and of his rancour and his schemes, he was expected to begin the conflict.

But how was he to set about it? He found himself for the first time, the author of a conspiracy: hitherto he had profited by all the popular movements, but had directed none. Danton, the cordeliers, and the faubourgs, had brought about the affair of the 10th August against the throne; Marat, the Mountain, and the commune, that of the 31st May against the Gironde; Billaud, Saint-Just, and the committees had effected the ruin of the commune, and had diminished the power of the Mountain. Robespierre now remained alone, and it was necessary that he should himself perfect the work of his domination, the materials of which had been thrown to-

gether by others. Not being able to avail himself of the assistance of the government since he had declared against the committees, he resorted to the populace and to the Jacobins. The principal conspirators were Saint-Just and Couthon of the committee; the mayor Fleuriot, and the national agent Payan, in the commune; the president Dumas, and the vice-president Coffinhal, in the revolutionary tribunal; Henriot the commandant of the troops; and the Popular Society. On the 4th July [15th messidor] three weeks after the law of prairial, and twenty-four days before the 28th July [9th thermidor] they had already taken their resolution. At this period Henriot wrote to the mayor under the above date: "Comrade, thou wilt be satisfied with me and the manner in which I shall conduct myself: go to, men who love their country easily understand how to turn every step to the benefit of the commonwealth. I could have wished, and I do wish, the *secret of the operation* was confined to our two selves. Scoundrels should know nothing of it. Safety and Fraternity!"

Saint-Just being on a mission to the army in the north, Robespierre recalled him in

great haste. Whilst waiting for his return, he prepared the minds of the Jacobins. In the session of the 22nd July [3rd thermidor] he complained of the conduct of the committees, and the persecutions of the patriots whom he swore to defend. "No trace must remain," said he, "of faction or of crime in any place whatever. A few wretches dishonour the convention, but doubtless it will not suffer itself to be oppressed by them." He afterwards persuaded his colleagues, the Jacobins, to present *their reflections* to the national assembly; this was the plan of the 31st May. On the 31st July [4th thermidor] he received a deputation from the department of Aisne, which came to him to complain of the operations of government, to which he had been a stranger upwards of a month. "The convention," replied Robespierre, "in its present situation, gangrened as it is by corruption from which it cannot purify itself, has no longer the power to save the republic: both will perish. The proscription of the patriots is the order of the day. For myself, I have already one foot in the grave; in a few days I shall have the other there. The rest is in the hands of providence." He was a little

unwell at this time, and he designedly exaggerated his own discouragement and fears, and the dangers of the republic, in order to inflame the patriots, and connect the destiny of the revolution with his own.

In the meanwhile Saint-Just arrived from the army. He was apprised by Robespierre of the state of affairs. He presented himself to the committees, the members of which received him coldly; every time he entered, they ceased to deliberate. Saint-Just, who from their silence, from a few words which had escaped, from their embarrassment, or from the hostility of their countenances, perceived that no time was to be lost, urged Robespierre to act. His maxim was to strike quietly and strongly. *Dare!* said he, *that's the secret of revolutions.* But he wished to induce Robespierre to take a measure which was impracticable, in persuading him to extinguish his enemies without giving them warning. The force which was at his disposal was a revolutionary one, governed by opinion, and not an organized force. He required the assistance of the convention or of the commune, of the legal authority of the government, or the extraordinary authority of the insurrection.

Such had been the practice, and such should have been the line of policy. Insurrection even could not be resorted to until after the refusal of the assembly; otherwise, the pretext for a rising would be wanting. Robespierre was at last obliged to begin the attack, first in the convention itself. He hoped through his ascendancy to obtain what he wished; or if, contrary to its practice, it resisted, he calculated that the people, provoked by the commune, would rise on the 28th July [9th thermidor] against the proscribed members of the Mountain and the committee of general safety, as it had risen on the 31st May against the proscribed Girondists and the commission of twelve. Thus we always regulate our conduct and our hopes upon the past.

On the 27th July [8th thermidor] he went early to the convention: he mounted the tribune, and denounced the committees in a very dexterous harangue: "I am come to defend before you, your outraged authority and violated liberty. I will also defend myself; you will not be surprised at it; you bear no resemblance to the tyrants whom you oppose. The cries of injured innocence do not ring in your ears, and you know that this cause is no

stranger to you." After this exordium, he complains of his calumniators; he attacks those who wish to destroy the republic by excess, or by moderation; those who persecute peaceful citizens, meaning the committees, and those who persecute true patriots, meaning the Mountainists. He associates himself with the plans, with the past conduct, and the spirit of the convention. He adds that its enemies are his. "Why am I persecuted? because the persecution of me forms a part of the general system of their conspiracy against the national convention. Have you not observed that, in order to separate you from the nation, they have published that you were dictators, reigning by terror, and disavowed and disclaimed by the tacit wish of Frenchmen? For myself, what is the faction to which I belong? It is yourselves. What is the faction which, since the commencement of the revolution, has levelled so many factions and disposed of so many traitors, who had found the means of ingratiating themselves? It is you; it is the people; it is our principles. This is the faction to which I am devoted, and against which all crimes are in league. Six weeks at least have passed,

during which the inability of doing good and arresting evil has absolutely forced me to abandon my duties as a member of the committee of public safety. Has patriotism been better protected? faction less audacious? the country more happy? My influence has at all times been limited to pleading the cause of the country before the representatives of the nation, and at the tribunal of public reason." Having endeavoured to mix up his cause with that of the convention, he excites it against the committees, by the idea of its independence: "Representatives of the people! it is time to resume that pride and loftiness of character which becomes you. You are not made to be governed by, but to govern the depositories of your confidence."

At the same time that he attempts to gain the assembly, by exhibiting thete rmination of its servitude and the restitution of its power, he addresses himself to the moderate members, reminding them that it is to him they owe the safety of the *sixty-three*, and in leading them to expect the return of order, of justice, and of clemency. He speaks of changing the wasteful and intricate system of finances, of softening the revolutionary

government, of guiding its motions, and punishing its treacherous agents. Finally, he invokes the people, he speaks of its wants and of its power; and, after having called up every thing which could operate upon the convention, both interest, and hope, and fear, "Let us declare then," added he, "that there exists a conspiracy against public liberty; that it owes its power to a criminal combination which intrigues in the very heart of the convention; that this combination has accomplices in the committee of general safety; that the enemies of the republic have placed this committee in opposition to the committee of public safety, and thus constituted two governments; that some of the members of the committee of public safety have entered into the plot; that the coalition, thus formed, seeks to destroy both patriots and country. What is the remedy for this evil? To punish the traitors, to reform the committee of general safety, to purify this committee, and subject it to the committee of public safety; to purify the committee of public safety itself; to establish unity of government under the supreme authority of the convention; thus, to crush all factions with

the weight of the national authority, and to raise upon their ruins the power of justice and liberty."

Not a murmur, not a whisper of applause, succeeded this declaration of war. The silence with which Robespierre had been listened to was prolonged for a considerable time after he had done. From all parts of the undecided assembly they looked at each other with disquietude. At last, Lecointre de Versailles took up the subject, and proposed the printing of the discourse. This motion was the signal of agitation, of debate, and resistance. Bourdon de l'Oise opposed the printing as dangerous, and was applauded; but Barrère having, according to his equivocal practice, maintained that all discourses ought to be published; and Couthon having required that it should be sent to all the communes of the republic; the convention, intimidated by the apparent concert between the two opposite factions, decreed that it should be printed and circulated.

The members of the two committees who had been attacked, and who had hitherto remained silent, perceiving the Mountain repulsed and the majority wavering, felt that it

was high time to speak. Vadier was the first who opposed the discourse of Robespierre, and Robespierre himself. Cambon went further: "It is time to speak the whole truth," cried he; "a single individual has paralysed the will of the national convention; this individual is Robespierre."—"The mask must be taken off," added Billaud-Varennes, "upon whatever face it is found; I would rather that my body should serve as a throne for an ambitious man than by my silence become the accomplice of his crimes." Panis, Bentabole, Charlier, Thirion, and Amar, attacked him by turns. Fréron proposed to the convention to break the fatal yoke of the committees: "The moment is come," said he, "to re-establish freedom of opinion. I move that the assembly take into consideration the decree which grants to the committee the right of arresting the representatives of the people. Where is the man who can speak freely when he is in fear of being arrested?" Some marks of applause were heard, but the time of the entire emancipation of the convention was not yet arrived; it was behind the shield of the committees that it was necessary to carry on the conflict with Robespierre, that they

might thereby be able afterwards to overturn the committees. The motion of Fréron therefore was negatived. "He whom fear hinders from speaking his opinion," said Billaud-Varennes, looking at him, "is not worthy of the title of representative of the people." Their attention was again directed to Robespierre: the decree for printing the discourse was reported, and the convention referred the examination of it to the committees: Robespierre, who had been surprised at this spirited resistance, then said, "What! I have the courage to deposit in the bosom of the convention truths which I think necessary to the salvation of the country, and my discourse is referred to the examination of the members whom I accuse!" He left them a little discouraged, but still hoping to fix the assembly, which had shewn itself fluctuating, or else to subdue it by the conspirators of the Jacobins and the commune.

In the evening he repaired to the popular society; he was received with enthusiasm: he read the discourse which the assembly had condemned, and it was now heard with rapturous applause. He then gave them an account of the attacks which had been directed against

him, and the more to excite them, added, "I am ready, if necessary, to drink the cup of Socrates."—"Robespierre," cried a deputy, "I will drink it with thee."—"The enemies of Robespierre," added they on all sides, "are those of the country; let him name them, and they shall cease to live." During the whole of this night Robespierre prepared his partisans for the affair of the next day. It was agreed that they should assemble at the commune and at the Jacobins, that they might be ready for any event, whilst he should repair with his friends to the centre of the assembly.

The committees, on their side, were assembled, and had deliberated all the night. Saint-Just had appeared in the midst of them. His colleagues had attempted to detach him from the triumvirate; they directed him to make a report of the occurrences of the preceding evening, and to submit it to them. Instead of which, he prepared an act of accusation, which he would not communicate to them, and on leaving them he said, "You have seared my heart; I go to open it to the convention." The committees placed their whole hope in the courage of the assemblies,

and the union of parties. The Mountain had omitted nothing to bring about this salutary concert. They had applied to the most influential members of the right, and of the *marais*. They had implored Boissy d'Anglas and Durand-Maillane, who were at their head, to join them against Robespierre. They at first hesitated: they were so alarmed at the power of Robespierre, so full of resentment against the Mountain, that they sent back the Dantonists without listening to them. The Dantonists returned a third time to the charge, and then the right side and the *plain* engaged to support them. On both sides then there was a conspiracy; all the parties in the assembly were united against Robespierre: all the accomplices of the triumvirs were prepared against the convention. In this situation of affairs, the session of 27 July [9th thermidor] opened.

The members of the assembly repaired there sooner than usual. About half past eleven o'clock they were walking in the passage, encouraging each other. The mountainist Bourdon de l'Oise accosts the moderate Durand Maillane, squeezes his hand, and says to him, "O the brave men of the right!" Rovère and Talien join them and add

their congratulations to those of Bourdon. At noon they saw, from the door of the hall, Saint-Just ascend the tribune. *Now is the time,* said Talien, and they pass into the hall. Robespierre is seated in front of the tribune, for the purpose, doubtless, of intimidating his adversaries by his looks. Saint-Just begins: "I," said he, "am of no faction; I will oppose them all. The course of affairs has determined that this tribune may, perhaps, become the Tarpeian rock for him who shall mount it to tell you that the members of government have quitted the paths of wisdom!" Talien immediately interrupts Saint-Just with violence, and exclaims, "No good citizen can refrain from tears at the unfortunate situation to which the state is reduced. We see division on every side of us. Yesterday, a member of the government separated himself from it, to accuse it. To day, another does the same thing. They still wish to attack it, to increase the evils of the country, to hasten its destruction. I insist upon the curtain being completely withdrawn."—*It must! it must!* issued from all parts.

Billaud-Varennes then began to speak from his place. "Yesterday," said he, "the society of Jacobins was filled with men, who

were introduced insidiously, for they had no tickets; yesterday, the intention of massacring the national convention was developed in that society; yesterday, I saw men who uttered the most atrocious calumnies against those who have never deviated from the course of the revolution. I see among the Mountain one of those men who threatened the representatives of the people: this is he!" —"Let him be arrested! let him be arrested!" exclaimed they. The ushers seized and conducted him to the committee of general safety. "The moment for speaking the truth," pursued Billaud, "is arrived. Ill would the assembly judge of events, and of the position in which it is placed, if it conceals from itself that it is between two massacres. It will perish if it is weak."—"No, no, it shall not perish," replied all the members, rising. They swear to save the republic; the tribunes applaud and cry out, *Long live the national convention!* The impetuous Lebas demands the liberty of speaking in defence of the triumvirs; it is refused, and Billaud continues. He warns the convention of its dangers, attacks Robespierre, points out his accomplices, and denounces his conduct and his

schemes of dictatorship. All eyes are turned towards him. He supports them for a long time with firmness, but at last, no longer able to contain himself, he rushes to the tribune. Instantly the cry of *Down with the tyrant! down with the tyrant!* is heard, and prevents him from speaking.

"Just now," said Talien, "I insisted that the veil should be torn off. I perceive with pleasure that it is completely so; the conspirators are unmasked; they will soon be annihilated, and liberty will triumph! Yesterday I was present at the session of the Jacobins; I shuddered for my country, I saw the army of the new Cromwell mustering, and I armed myself with a poniard to plunge into his bosom, if the national convention had not the firmness to decree his accusation." He drew forth his poniard; waved it before the indignant convention, and demanded before everything the arrest of Henriot and the permanence of the assembly, both of which he obtained amidst cries of *Long live the republic!* Billaud also obtained a decree of arrest against three of the most daring accomplices of Robespierre—Dumas, Boulanger, and Dufrèse: Barrere placed the convention

under the protection of the armed sections, and proposed a proclamation to be addressed to the people. Every one proposed some measure of precaution. Vadier, for a moment, diverted the attention of the assembly from the dangers which threatened it, and again directed it to the affair of Catherine Théos. "Let us not lose sight of the real point of the question," said Talien.—"I shall know how to bring it back," said Robespierre. "Let us return to the tyrant," replied Talien; and he attacked him again, and still more warmly.

Robespierre had repeatedly attempted to speak, had ascended and descended the steps of the tribune, but his voice was always drowned by the cries of *Down with the tyrant!* and by the bell which the president Thuriot sounded without intermission. At length, in a moment of silence, he made a last effort. "For the last time," cried he, "wilt thou allow me to speak, president of assassins?" but Thuriot continued to sound his bell. Robespierre, after having turned his eyes towards the tribunes, who remained immoveable, directed himself to the right. "It is to you, pure and virtuous men," said he,

"that I have recourse; grant me the liberty of speech, which these assassins refuse." No answer, and the most profound silence. Dispirited at this repulse, he then returned to his place, and sunk into his seat, exhausted with rage and fatigue. His mouth foamed and his voice grew thick. "Miserable man," said a Mountainist to him, "the blood of Danton stifles thee." They demand his arrest; it is supported on all sides. The younger Robespierre arose: "I am as guilty as my brother," said he, "I share his virtues, I wish to share his lot."—"I will not associate myself with the disgrace of this decree," added Lebas, "I also demand my arrest." The assembly unanimously decreed the arrest of the two Robespierres, of Couthon, Lebas, and Saint-Just. The latter, after having remained a long time in the tribune, in perfect self-possession, had descended to his place with calmness; he had supported this continued storm without appearing to be disturbed by it. The triumvirs were delivered to the gendarmerie, who took them away amidst general acclamations. Robespierre, as he went out said, "The republic is lost, the brigands triumph." It was

half past five o'clock; the session was suspended until seven.

During this strong conflict, the accomplices of the triumvirs were assembled at the commune and the Jacobins. The mayor Fleuriot, the national agent Payan, the commandant Henriot, had been at the Hotel-de-Ville since noon. They had called the municipal officers together by sound of drum, hoping that Robespierre would be the victor in the assembly, and that they would have no occasion either for the general council to decree the insurrection, or of the sections to support it. A few hours afterwards, an usher of the convention having come to command the mayor to appear at its bar, to give an account of the state of Paris: "Go and tell the miscreants," replied Henriot to him, "that we are deliberating here how to purge them; do not forget to tell Robespierre to be firm, and to fear nothing." About half past four o'clock they learnt the arrest of the triumvirs and the decree against their accomplices. Immediately the tocsin was sounded, the barriers closed, the general council convoked, the sections assembled. The cannoniers received orders to repair with their pieces to the com-

mune, and the revolutionary committees to attend them, for the purpose of taking the oath of insurrection. A message was sent to the Jacobins, who had declared themselves permanent. The municipal deputies were received with the greatest enthusiasm: "The society keeps watch for the country," said they to them, "it has sworn to perish rather than exist under the authority of crime." At the same time they laid down their plan of operations, and established rapid communications between the two centres of insurrection. Henriot, on his part, in order to excite the people to rise, ran through the streets with a pistol in his hand, at the head of his staff, crying to arms, haranguing the multitude, and urging all he met to repair to the commune to save their country. It was during this expedition that two members of the convention perceived him in the street, Saint-Honoré; they summoned, in the name of the law, some gendarmes to execute the decree of arrest; the latter obeyed, and Henriot was bound and conducted to the committee of general safety.

Nothing, however, was done on either side. Each party *availed itself* of the power it

possessed; the convention of its decrees, the commune of the insurrection; each party knew what would be the consequence of defeat, and it was that which rendered them both so active, so cautious, and so decided. The victory was for a long time doubtful: from noon to five o'clock the convention was uppermost; by its orders the triumvirs, the national agent Payan, and the commandant Henriot, were arrested. It was then sitting, and the commune had not yet reassembled its forces; but from six to eight o'clock the insurgents regained the advantage, and the cause of the convention appeared to be lost.

During this interval the national representatives had separated, and the efforts and the confidence of the commune were redoubled.

Robespierre had been transferred to the Luxembourg, his brother to Saint Lazare, Saint-Just to the Ecossais, Couthon to the Bourbe, and Lebas to the Conciergerie. The commune, after having commanded the jailers not to receive them, despatched the municipal authorities with detachments to bring them away. The first who was delivered was Robespierre; he was conducted in triumph to

the Hotel-de-Ville. On his arrival he was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and in the midst of cries of *Long live Robespierre! Perish the traitors!* A little before, Coffinhal had set out at the head of two hundred cannoniers to carry off Henriot, who was detained at the committee of general safety. It was then seven o'clock, and the convention had recommenced its sitting. Its guard was at the utmost a hundred men. Coffinhal arrives, rushes into the court, invades the committees, and delivers Henriot. The latter immediately repairs to the place du Carousel, harangues the cannoniers, and points their guns towards the convention.

The assembly was at that moment deliberating upon its dangers. It had just learned one after another the frightful success of the conspirators, the insurrectional orders of the commune, the rescue of the triumvirs, their presence at the Hotel-de-Ville, the fury of the Jacobins, and the successive assembling of the revolutionary committees and the sections. It was every moment expecting to be forced, when the dismayed members of the committee, appeared in the midst of it, flying from the pursuit of Coffinhal. They

stated that the committees were invested, and Henriot at liberty. At this intelligence the emotion became very great. An instant after, Amer hastily entered and announced that the cannoniers, seduced by Henriot, had turned their pieces upon the convention. "*Citizens!*" said the president, putting on his hat as a sign of distress, "*this is the moment for us to die at our post!*"—*Yes, yes, we will die at it!* was echoed by every member. Those who were in possession of the tribune descended, crying, *To arms! Let us go and drive back these miscreants!* and the assembly courageously outlawed Henriot.

Happily for it, Henriot could not persuade the cannoniers to fire. His power did not extend beyond hurrying them along with him, and he proceeded towards the Hotel-de-Ville. The refusal of the cannoniers fixed the fate of that day. From that instant the affairs of the commune, which had been at the very point of success, began to decline. Not having succeeded in a brisk surprise, it was reduced to the slow process of the insurrection; the point of attack was changed, and instead of the commune besieging the Tuileries, the convention very speedily marched

upon the Hotel-de-Ville. The assembly immediately outlawed the conspiring deputies and the insurgent commune. It sent commissaries to the sections to obtain their support; it named the representative Barras commander of the armed force, assigned Fréron, Rovère, Bourdon de l'Oise, Féraud, Leonard Bourdon, Legendre, all decided men, as his assistants; and made the committees the centre of operations.

The sections, at the invitation of the commune, had re-assembled about nine o'clock; most of the citizens in repairing thither were uneasy, being imperfectly and confusedly acquainted with the nature of the quarrel between the convention and the commune. The emissaries of the insurgents urged them to join the insurrection, and to march their battalions to the Hotel de Ville. The sections confined themselves to sending deputations to it; but as soon as the commissaries of the convention appeared amongst them, and communicated the decrees of the assembly, and its invitations to them, and apprised them that it had a chief and a rallying point, they no longer hesitated. Their battalions presented themselves in succession before

the assembly; they swore to defend it, and filed off in the hall in the midst of the most enthusiastic acclamations and the most sincere applause. "Time is precious," said Fréron, "we must act; Barras is gone to take the orders of the committees; we will march against the rebels. We will summon them in the name of the convention to deliver the traitors to us, and, if they refuse, we will reduce that building to ashes."—"Go immediately," replied the president, "lest day appear before the heads of the conspirators are off." They placed some battalions and pieces of artillery round the assembly to protect it from attack, and marched in two columns against the commune. It was then almost midnight.

The conspirators kept themselves together. Robespierre, after having been received with cries of enthusiasm, and promises of devotion and victory, had been conducted to the general council, between Payan and Fleuriot. The place de Grève was filled with men, with bayonets, pikes, and cannon. They only waited for the arrival of the sections to enable them to act. The presence of their deputies and the municipal commissaries in the very

midst of them, induced them to rely upon those bodies; Henriot answered for everything. The conspirators thought their victory certain; they named an executive commission, prepared addresses to the army, and drew up the lists. At half an hour after midnight, however, not one section had appeared, no order had been given; the triumvirs were continually sitting, and the multitude assembled in the place de Grève began to waver in consequence of such delay and indecision. A report that the sections had declared themselves, that the commune was outlawed, and the troops of the convention were advancing, was whispered from ear to ear. The temper of this armed multitude was already considerably softened, when some emissaries from the vanguard of the assembly glided into the midst of them, and raised the cry of *Long live the convention!* many voices repeated it. The proclamation declaring the commune outlawed, was read, and all the people, after having heard it, dispersed. In an instant the place de Grève was deserted. A few minutes afterwards Henriot came down with his sword in his hand to keep up their courage, and finding no one there, "How," cried he, "is it pos-

sible? These scoundrel cannoniers, who saved my life five hours ago, have now actually abandoned me!" He went up again; at this moment the columns of the convention arrived, surrounded the Hotel-de-Ville, silently took possession of all the avenues, and then sent forth the cry of *Long live the national convention!*

The conspirators, finding themselves undone, attempted to escape the blows of their enemies by dispatching themselves. Robespierre broke his jaw by a pistol shot; Lebas followed his example, but with better effect; he killed himself. The younger Robespierre threw himself from the third story, but survived his fall; Couthon gave himself many strokes with a hesitating hand; Saint-Just awaited his fate; Coffinhal accused Henriot of cowardice, and threw him from a window into the common sewer, and fled. The conventionalists, however, effected an entrance into the Hotel de Ville, traversed its deserted apartments, seized the conspirators, and conveyed them in triumph to the assembly. Bourdon entered the hall, exclaiming, *Victory! victory! The traitors no longer exist!* "The cowardly Robespierre is there," said the president, "they are carrying him

upon a litter, of course you do not wish him to be brought in?"—"No, no," cried they, "it is to the *place de la Revolution* that he must be carried." He was placed for some time at the committee of general safety before he was transferred to the Conciergerie. There, extended upon a table, with a bloody and disfigured countenance, subjected to the view, to the invectives and curses of the spectators; he beheld the different parties rejoicing over his fall, and upbraiding him with all the crimes he had committed. He displayed great insensibility to the excessive pain which he experienced. He was conducted to the Conciergerie, and was afterwards brought before the revolutionary tribunal, which, on proof of his identity, and that of his accomplices, sent them to the scaffold. On the 28th July [10th thermidor], about five o'clock in the evening, he ascended the death-cart, placed between Henriot and Couthon, who were as much mutilated as himself. His head was bound up in a bloody cloth, his face was livid, and his eye almost lifeless. An immense crowd pressed round the cart, giving the strongest and most noisy demonstrations of joy. They congra-

tulated and embraced one another, they came near to obtain a better view of him, and loaded him with imprecations. The gens-darmes pointed him out with their swords; as for himself, he appeared to regard the crowd with pity: Saint-Just surveyed it with an unmoved eye; the rest, to the number of twenty-two, were more cast down. Robespierre was the last who ascended the scaffold: the instant his head fell the multitude applauded, and the applause lasted for several minutes.

With him ended the reign of terror, although he was not the greatest zealot of that system in his party. If he aimed at supreme power, after having obtained it, moderation would have been necessary, and the system of terror, which ceased by his fall, would also have ceased with his triumph. In my opinion his destruction was inevitable: he had no organized force, his partisans, although numerous, were not enlisted and incorporated; he possessed only the great power derived from public opinion and the principle of terror; so that not being able to surprise his enemies by violence, like Cromwell, he endea-

voured to frighten them. Fear not succeeding, he tried insurrection. But as the support of the committees gave courage to the convention, so the sections, relying for support on the strength of the convention, naturally declared themselves against the insurgents. By attacking the government he roused the assembly, by rousing the assembly he let loose the people; and this coalition necessarily ruined him. The convention on the *9th thermidor* was no longer, as on the 31st May, divided and undecisive in the presence of a compact, bold, and numerous faction. All parties were united by defeat, by misfortune, and ever-threatening proscription, and in the event of a conflict, were associated by necessity. It was not in the power of Robespierre to avoid defeat. Was it in his power not to separate from the committees? No more than in the other case. At the point at which he had arrived, a man wishes to be alone; he is devoured by his passions, deceived by his hopes and by his fortune, which until then had been propitious; and when war is once declared, peace, repose, the division of power, are no more possible

than justice and mercy when the scaffold has been once erected. He must fall then by the very means which have served to raise him: the creature of faction, he must perish by the scaffold as the conqueror does by the sword.

CHAPTER X.

The convention after the fall of Robespierre.—Party of the committee.—Thermidorian party; how they were composed, and their aim.—Fall of the democratic parties of the committees.—Accusation of Lebon and Carrier.—State of Paris.—The Jacobins and faubourgs declare in favour of the old committees; la Jeunesse Dorée and the sections in favour of the Thermidorians.—Daily conflicts.—The club of the Jacobins is closed.—Accusations of Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère and Vadier.—The rising of *germinal*.—Transportation of the accused, and of some of the Mountainists, their partisans.—Insurrection of 20th May [1st prairial].—Defeat of the democratic party; disarming of the faubourgs; the lower order is excluded from the government, is deprived of the constitution of 93, and loses its physical power.

THE 27th July [9th thermidor] was the first day of the revolution on which those who had formerly attacked were compelled to yield. By this sign alone it is apparent that the ascendant movement of the revolution had rived at its highest point. On this day an opposite movement was to commence. The general rising of all parties against a single

individual was calculated to put an end to the depression under which they laboured. The committees conquered themselves in Robespierre, and the decemviral government was deprived of the principal of terror, in which its power consisted. The committees liberated the convention, which by degrees liberated the whole republic. They nevertheless considered that they had only been labouring for themselves, and to increase the duration of the revolutionary government, whilst the greater part of those, who had supported them, had in view the end of the dictatorship, the independence of the assembly, and the establishment of legal order. From the day succeeding the 9th thermidor, there were then two opposite parties amongst the conquerors; that of the committees and that of the Mountainists, which was called the *thermidorian* party.

That of the committees was deprived of half its strength; besides the loss of its chief, it had no longer the support of the commune, whose insurgent members were sent to the scaffold, to the number of seventy-two, and which, after its double defeat under Hébert and under Robespierre, was never after re-

organized, and was wholly deprived of influence. But this party retained the direction of affairs through the committees. All the members were attached to the revolutionary system, in which alone some of them found their safety, such as Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, Vadier, and Amar; others were apprehensive of a counter-revolution and the punishment of their colleagues, such as Carnot, Cambon, the two Prieurs, &c. &c. In the convention, it included all the commissaries lately sent on missions, many Mountainists who had distinguished themselves on the 27th July [9th thermidor], and the wreck of the party of Robespierre. The Jacobins united themselves to it without, and it always had the support of the lower class and the faubourgs.

The thermidorian party was composed of the greater part of the convention. The whole of the centre of the assembly, and what remained of the right, had joined the Mountain, which had recovered from its former fanatic violence. The coalition of the moderates, Boissy-d'Anglas, Sièyes, Cambacérès, Chénier, Thibaudeau, with the Dantonists Talien, Fréron, Legendre, Barras, Bourdon de l'Oise, Rovère, Bentabole,

Dumont, and the two Merlins, gave a new character to the assembly. After the 28th July it began to strengthen its influence in the convention; it very soon made its way into the government, and eventually succeeded in excluding those who filled its offices. Supported at that time by public opinion, by the assembly, and by the committees, it proceeded openly in its design; it pursued the principal decemvirs and some of their agents. As they had a number of partisans in Paris, it relied upon the young people against the Jacobins, and upon the sections against the faubourgs; at the same time, it recalled to the convention, as a reinforcement, all the deputies whom the committee of public safety had proscribed: first, the seventy-three, who had protested against the 31st May, and who afterwards became the victims of that day. The Jacobins were in great commotion; this party closed their club; the faubourgs made an insurrection, it disarmed them. After having overturned the revolutionary government, it designed to establish another, and to substitute, by the constitution of the year 3, a practicable, liberal, regular, and durable order of things for the extraordinary and pro-

visional state in which the convention had been placed from its first institution to that period. But all this could only be effected by degrees.

The two parties, after their joint victory, were not long in trying their strength with each other. The revolutionary tribunal excited above every thing the greatest horror. On the 29th July [11th thermidor] its operation was suspended, but Billaud-Varennes at the same sitting obtained a revocation of the decree of suspension. He pretended that none were criminal but the accomplices of Robespierre; and that the greater part of the judges and juries, being men of unblemished characters, it was desirable to retain them in their offices. Barrère presented a decree to this effect: he said that the triumvirs had done nothing for the revolutionary government; that they had even frequently opposed its measures; that their sole care had been to introduce their creatures into it, and to give it a direction favourable to their own projects: he insisted that, in order to strengthen the government and to maintain the law of the suspected, the tribunal, those who composed it, and even Fouquier Thinville.... At this name

a general murmur burst from the assembly. Fréron, making himself the organ of the common indignation, exclaimed, "I demand that the earth may be at length freed from that monster, and that Fouquier, now drunk with the blood which he has spilled, may be sent to hell to sleep himself sober." He was applauded, and a decree of accusation was immediately passed against Fouquier. Barrère did not, however, consider himself vanquished; he still preserved in the face of the convention the imperious language which the old committee had always used with success: it was custom and calculation on his part, well knowing that nothing is carried on so easily as that which has once succeeded.

But the political changes of Barrère, who was a nobleman, and who had been a *feuillant* royalist before the 10th August, did not permit him to assume that tone of inflexibility and command. "What is then," said Merlin de Thionville, "this president of the *feuillants*, who pretends to give law to us?" The hall rung with applause. Barrère became disturbed, and left the tribune; and this first check of the committees was the signal of their downfall in the convention.

The revolutionary tribunal continued to exist, but under different regulations and with other members. The law of the 22nd prairial was abolished; the proceedings were carried on with as much moderation and deliberation, and accompanied with as many forms for the protection of the accused, as they had been with precipitation and inhumanity. The old suspected were no longer subjected to this tribunal; they were retained some time longer in prison, but under gentle treatment, and were by degrees finally restored to liberty, according to the prudent plan which Camille-Desmoulins had proposed by means of the *committee of clemency*.

On the 31st July [13th thermidor], they deliberated on the state of the government itself. The committee of public safety wanted many members. Hérault de Séchelles had never been replaced; Jean-Bon-Saint-André and Prieur of Marne, were out on missions; Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-Just, had recently perished. They were succeeded by Talien, Bréard, Eschasseriaux, Treilhard, Thuriot, and Laloi, whose entrance into the committee diminished the influence of the old members. At the same time the two com-

mittees were reorganized; they were made more dependent upon the assembly, and more independent of each other. That of the public safety was entrusted with the charge of military and diplomatic affairs, and that of general safety with the regulation of the chief police. Being desirous, in abridging the revolutionary power, to appease the fever which had carried it to so high a pitch, and by degrees to disband the multitude, they reduced the daily meetings of the sections to a single one during the decade, and abolished the allowance of twentypence a-day to the indigent citizens who assisted in them.

These preliminary measures being taken on the 11th fructidor, one month after the fall of Robespierre, Lecointre de Versailles denounced Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, members of the committee of public safety, and Vadier, Amar, and Vouland, of the committee of general safety. Talien had the night before declaimed in violent terms against the government of terror, and the effect which had been produced by his speech encouraged Lecointre in his attack. He presented twenty-three articles of accusation against them; he imputed to them all the measures of cruelty or

tyranny, which they again threw back upon the triumvirs, and he denominated them the successors of Robespierre. This denunciation occasioned considerable disturbance in the assembly, and stirred up all those who supported the committees, or who were anxious that there should be no further divisions in the republic. "If the crimes with which Lecointre reproaches us," said Billaud-Varennes, "were proved, if they were as real as they are absurd and chimerical, there is not one of us, doubtless, whose blood ought not to stain the scaffold. But I defy Lecointre to prove by legal evidence, by testimony worthy of credit, a single one of the facts of which he accuses us." He refuted the articles of accusation of Lecointre; he reproached his enemies with being corrupt and intriguing, with wishing to sacrifice them *to the memory of Danton, an odious conspirator, the hope of all the paricidal factions.* "What do they want then," pursued he, "those men who call us the successors of Robespierre? Know ye, citizens, what they want?—To sacrifice liberty on the tomb of the tyrant." The accusation of Lecointre was premature; nearly the whole convention declared it calumnious. The accused and

their friends gave themselves up to the expression of unrestrained and still powerful indignation, for they were attacked for the first time; the accuser received little support, and was almost confounded. For this time, therefore, Billaud-Varennes and his friends had an easy triumph.

Some days afterwards the time for renewing the committees by thirds arrived. The lot fell upon Barrère, Carnot, and Robert Lindet, as the retiring members in the committee of public safety; and upon Vadier, Vouland, and Moyse Bayle, in the committee of general safety. They were succeeded by thermidorians; and Collot-d'Herbois, as well as Billaud Varennes, finding themselves too weak, sent in their resignation. One thing contributed still more to the ruin of their party, by turning the tide of popular opinion violently against them; and that was the publicity given to the crimes of Joseph Lebon and Carrier, two of the proconsuls of the committee. One had been sent to Arras and Cambray, a frontier exposed to invasion, and the other to Nantes, the last boundary of the war of La Vendée: they had signalized their mission above all others, by developing

a ferocity of character and a wantonness of tyranny, which indeed always accompany those who are invested with human omnipotence. Lebon, who was young, and of a weak constitution, was naturally gentle. In his first mission, he had been humane; but he incurred the reproaches of the committee, and was sent to Arras with instructions to shew himself a little more revolutionary. That he might not be behindhand with the inexorable policy of the committees, he gave himself up to the most unheard of excesses: he mingled debauchery with extermination; he always kept the guillotine, which he called Saint Guillotine, in his presence, and he constantly associated with the executioner, whom he admitted to his table. Carrier, having more victims to dispose of, had even surpassed Lebon; he was an irritable and bloody fanatic; he only wanted an opportunity of executing that which the imagination of Marat himself would not have dared to conceive. Sent to the borders of an insurgent country, he condemned to death the whole hostile population; priests, women, children, old men, and young girls. As the scaffolds were insufficient, he had substituted for the

revolutionary tribunal a band of assassins, called Marat's company; and for the guillotine, boats with false bottoms, by means of which he drowned his victims in the Loire. Cries for justice and punishment were raised against these crimes after the events of the 27th July [9th thermidor]. Lebon was the first who was attacked, because he was more particularly the agent of Robespierre: they arrived much later at Carrier, who was the agent of the committee of public safety, and whose conduct Robespierre had disapproved. The prisons of Paris contained ninety-four inhabitants of Nantes, who were sincerely attached to the revolution, and who had defended their city against the attack of the Vendeans. Carrier sent them to Paris as Federalists. Before the 27th July [9th thermidor] they had not ventured to bring them before the revolutionary tribunal; they now conducted them before it in order to expose, by their trial, all the crimes of Carrier. The prisoners were tried with affected solemnity, and the proceedings occupied nearly a month; time enough was thus allowed for public opinion to declare itself with effect, and when they were acquitted, a general demand was

made for justice upon the revolutionary committee of Nantes and the proconsul Carrier. Legendre renewed Lecointre's accusation against Billaud, Barrère, Collot, and Vadier, who were generously defended by Carnot, Prieur, and Cambon, their former colleagues, who insisted on sharing their fate. Nothing resulted from the accusation of Lecointre; and the members of the revolutionary committee of Nantes were alone put upon their trial. But the progress of the thermidorian party was obvious. The members of the committee were this time obliged to resort to a justification of their conduct; and, with respect to the denunciation of Legendre, they merely passed to the order of the day without declaring it calumnious, as they had that of Lecointre.

The revolutionary democrats were however still very powerful in Paris: if they had lost the commune, the tribunal, the convention, and the committees, the Jacobins and the faubourgs still remained. In these popular societies their party was concentrated, and particularly with a view to their defence. Carrier was assiduous in his attendance there, and implored their assistance; Billaud-Va-

rennes and Collot-d'Herbois attended with equal assiduity; but not being so openly threatened, were a little more circumspect. They were in consequence reproached with their silence. *The lion sleeps,* replied Billaud-Varennes, *but his waking will be terrible.* This club had been purified after the 28th July [10th thermidor], and it had in the name of the regenerated societies, congratulated the convention upon the fall of Robespierre, and the termination of tyranny. At this period, as its chiefs were prosecuted, and many of the Jacobins in the departments committed to prison, it came in the name of all the affiliated societies, "to echo the cry of grief which rung from all parts of the republic; the voice of oppressed patriots plunged into dungeons, from which the aristocracy had just been released."

The convention, far from listening to the wishes of the Jacobins, prohibited them, for the purpose of destroying their influence, from resorting to collective petitions and affiliations, and from continuing the correspondence between the parent and the other societies, and in this manner disorganized the famous confederation of the clubs. Re-

pulsed in the convention, the Jacobins anxiously exerted themselves in Paris, for they were still masters. It was then that the thermidorians assembled their people, whilst they also claimed the support of the sections. At the same time Fréron called the young people to arms, in his journal called *The Orator of the People*, and he placed himself at their head. This new and irregular militia was called the *Jeunesse dorée* of Fréron. Those who composed it belonged wholly to the middle and wealthy class of society; they had adopted a singular costume, which they called *costume à la victime*. Instead of the short jacket (carmagnole) of the Jacobins, they wore a square and open-breasted dress; their shoes were very low in the instep, and their hair hanging down on each side, and behind bound up in tresses called *cadenettes;* they were armed with short sticks, leaded like bludgeons. A portion of these young people, and of the sectionists, were royalists; the rest followed the impulse of the moment, which was anti-revolutionary. The latter acted without design, and without ambition, and declared for the strongest party, especially when that party, by its triumph, pro-

mised the return of order, the desire of which was very general. The former contended, under the thermidorians, against the old committees, as the thermidorians had contended in the old committees against Robespierre; it waited for the moment to act on its own account, and an opportunity occurred after the complete fall of the revolutionary party. In the violent position in which the two parties were placed, with their fears and their resentments, they pursued each other to the utmost, and charged one another in the streets, crying, *Long live the constitution!* or *Long live the Mountain!* The *Jeunesse dorée* were supreme at the Palais Royal, where they were supported by the merchants; but the Jacobins were the strongest in the garden of the Tuileries, to which their club was near.

These quarrels became every day more animated, and Paris was transformed into a field of battle, on which the fate of parties was abandoned to the decision of arms. This state of disorder and of warfare could not last long; and as those parties had not the discretion to come to an understanding, one of them necessarily obtained a victory over the other. The thermidorians were mak-

ing great progress, and victory belonged to them. The day after that on which Billaud had spoken of *the awaking of the lion* in the popular society, a great commotion took place in Paris. They wished to carry the club of the Jacobins by assault. They cried up and down the streets—*The great conspiracy of the Jacobins! the Jacobins are outlawed!* It was at this period that the revolutionary committee of Nantes was brought to trial. It exculpated itself by ascribing to Carrier those sanguinary orders which it had executed; a line of defence, which provoked an inquiry into its conduct in the convention. Carrier was admitted to defend himself before his sentence was pronounced. He laid his cruelties to the account of the cruelties of the Vendeans themselves, and of the intoxicating zeal of civil war. "When I acted," said he, "the air seemed still to ring with the civic songs of twenty thousand martyrs, who had repeated, *Long live the republic!* in the midst of tortures. How could expiring humanity have made herself heard in these terrible times? What would they, who now rise against me, have done in my situation? I saved the republic at Nantes, I have lived for my country alone,

I know how to die for it." Of five hundred voters, four hundred and ninety-eight were in favour of the accusation, the remaining two were also in favour of it, but conditionally.

The Jacobins, perceiving that from subaltern agents they ascended to the representatives themselves, began to think they were lost. They attempted to stir up the multitude, not so much to defend Carrier as to support their party itself, which was more and more menaced. But they were prevented by the *troupe dorée* and the sectionaries, who repaired to the place of their sittings for the purpose of dissolving the club. A brisk engagement took place. The besiegers broke the windows with stones, forced the doors, and, after some resistance on the part of the Jacobins, succeeded in dispersing them. The latter complained to the convention of the violence exercised against them. Rewbell, who was directed to prepare a report of this affair, was by no means favourable to them. "Where," said he, "has tyranny been organized? At the Jacobins.—Where has it found its supporters and its satellites? At the Jacobins.—Who have covered France with mourning, carried despair into families, filled

the country with prisons, rendered the republic so odious, that a slave pressed down by the weight of his irons would refuse to live under it? The Jacobins.—Who regrets the frightful government under which we have lived? The Jacobins.—If you have not now the courage to declare yourselves, you have no longer a republic, because you have Jacobins." The convention suspended them provisionally, in order to weed and reorganize, for it durst not destroy them at one blow. The Jacobins, in defiance of this decree, again assembled in arms near the place where their sittings were held. The thermidorian troop, who had before besieged them there, once more attacked them. It surrounded the club amidst cries of, *Long live the convention! Down with the Jacobins!* The latter prepared to defend themselves; they left their seats, crying, *Long live the republic!* they took possession of the doors, and made a sortie. At first they took a few prisoners; but soon giving way before superior numbers, they surrendered the place, and passed through the ranks of the conquerors, who, after having disarmed, covered them with indignities, hootings, and even blows. These illegal con-

flicts were conducted with all the excesses which accompany the struggles of parties.

The commissaries of the convention came on the following day, and closed the club, affixing seals upon the registers and upon the papers, and from that moment the Jacobins ceased to exist. This popular association had most essentially served the cause of the republic at a time when it was necessary, in order to repel the attacks of Europe, to place the government in the hands of the multitude, and to protect the republic with energetic defence; but at the present time they could have no other effect than to counteract the new order of things.

The position of affairs was changed; it was fit that liberty should succeed to dictatorship, since the safety of the revolution was effected, and it was expedient to return to legal government in order to preserve it. An extraordinary and exorbitant power, like that of the confederation of clubs, was sure to terminate in the defeat of the party which had supported it, and that party end with the circumstances to which it owed its birth.

Carrier, being transferred before the revolutionary tribunal, was instantly tried, and

with the greater part of his accomplices condemned. Whilst they were still trying him, the seventy-three deputies, who had been excluded from the assembly on account of their protest against the proceedings of the 31st May, were recalled to their functions. Merlin of Douay applied for their re-admission in the name of the committee of public safety; his report was received with applause, and the seventy-three again took their seats in the convention. They, in their turn, urged the recall of the outlawed deputies, but they were met by a spirited opposition. The thermidorians and the members of the new committee were apprehensive that, by such a measure, they should be bringing the revolution itself into question. They were also apprehensive of introducing a new party into the already divided convention, and of bringing back to it implacable enemies, who might easily operate a re-action with respect to themselves, similar to that which had already taken place against the old committees. They therefore repelled the attempt with violence, and Merlin of Douay went so far as to say, "Do you wish to open the gates of the Temple?" The young son of Louis XVI

was confined there, and the Girondists were, in consequence of the events succeeding the 31st May, confounded with the royalists; otherwise, the 31st May still figured among the revolutionary dates by the side of the 10th August and 14th July. It was necessary that the retrograde movement should proceed still further, in order to attain this end. The republican counter-revolution had returned from the 27th July [9th thermidor] 1794, to the 3rd October 1793, the day on which the seventy-three were arrested, but not to the 2nd June 1793, the day on which the twenty-two were arrested. After having overthrown Robespierre and the committees, it was necessary that it should attack Marat and the Mountain. For this purpose, in the nearly geometrical return of the popular action, some months must still elapse.

The abolition of the decemviral government proceeded. The decree of expulsion against the priests and the nobles, who had formed two of the proscribed classes under the system of terror, was revoked; the *maximum* was suppressed, that, by putting an end to commercial tyranny, confidence might be restored: they engaged most warmly in an

endeavour to substitute the most general liberty for the despotic restraint of the committee of public safety. This period was also distinguished by the independence of the journals, the re-establishment of worship, and the relinquishment of the property of the federalists, which had been confiscated during the reign of the committees. It was a complete re-action of the revolutionary government; it soon reached Marat and the Mountain. After the 27th July [9th thermidor], they wanted a great revolutionary reputation to oppose to that of Robespierre, and they had chosen Marat. They decreed him the honours of the Pantheon, the grant of which Robespierre had, during his omnipotence, postponed. But he too was attacked in his turn. His bust was in the convention, at the theatres, in the public squares, and in the popular assemblies. The *Jeunesse dorée* broke it to pieces at the theatre Feydeau: the Mountain remonstrated, but the convention decreed that *no citizen should be entitled to the honours of the Pantheon, nor his bust placed in the convention, until ten years after his death.* The bust of Marat disappeared from the hall; and, as the commotion in the faubourgs was

very considerable, the sections, the ordinary guard of the convention, filed off in the midst of it. There was also in front of the Invalids a mountain, crowned with a colossal statue of Hercules killing the hydra. The section of the Corn Market demanded of the assembly that it should be pulled down: some murmurs were heard from the left. "This giant," said a member, "is the image of the people."—"I see nothing but a mountain," replied another; "and what is a mountain, if it be not a lasting protest against equality!" These words were covered with applause; they were sufficient to procure the petition a favourable reception, and to overturn this monument of the victory and domination of a party.

Then it was that the proscribed members of the convention were recalled; their outlawry had been reversed for some time. Isnard and Louvet wrote to the assembly, asking to be reinstated in their rights: the consequences of the 31st May and the insurrection of the departments were always objected against them. "I will not do the national convention the injustice," said Chénier, who spoke in their favour, "to place

before its eyes the phantom of federalism, which they have dared to make the principal head of accusation against your colleagues. They have fled, it is said; they have concealed themselves. This then is their crime, and would that it had pleased the fates of the republic that this had been the crime of all! Why were there not caverns deep enough to preserve to their country the meditations of Condorcet and the eloquence of Vergniaud? Why, on the 10th thermidor, did not a hospitable land again bring to light this band of energetic patriots and virtuous republicans? But they fear schemes of vengeance from men soured by misfortune. Instructed in the school of adversity, they have learned to sigh over human errors. No, no; Condorcet, Rabaud Saint-Etienne, Vergniaud, Camille-Desmoulins, wished not for holocausts of blood, and it is not by hecatombs that their manes can be appeased!"—The left opposed the motion of Chénier. "You are going," cried Bentabole, "to awaken every description of passion. If you attack the insurrection of the 31st May, you prefer an indictment against eighty thousand men who have been concerned in it."—"Let us take care," replied

Sieyès, " that we do not confound the operation of tyranny with that of principles. When men, supported by an inferior authority, the rival of our own, succeeded in organizing the greatest of all crimes, in the fatal events of the 31st May and 2nd June, it was not a work of patriotism but an outrage of tyranny: from that period, therefore, you have seen the convention governed, the majority oppressed, and the minority dictating laws. The actual session may be divided into three periods; until the 31st May, the oppression of the convention by the people; until the 27th July [9th thermidor] the oppression of the people by the convention, itself the subject of tyranny; and lastly, since the 27th July, justice predominates, because the convention has re-assumed all its rights." He demanded the recal of the proscribed members, as a pledge of reunion in the assembly, and of safety for the state. Merlin of Douay also proposed their readmission in the name of the committee of public safety. It was granted; and twenty-two conventionalists re-assumed their seats, after a banishment of eight months. Amongst them were Isnard, Louvet, Lanjuinais, Kervelegan, Henri Larivière, Larével-

lière-Lepeaux, and Lesage, the remnant of the brilliant and unfortunate Gironde. They joined the moderate party, which became more and more constituted of the wrecks of different parties. Ancient enemies, forgetting their resentments and their rivalry for power, united together, having now the same interest and the same views. It was the commencement of a pacification between those who sought a republic against the royalists, and a practicable constitution against the revolutionists. At this period, all the measures relating to the federalists were repealed, and the Gironde placed themselves at the head of the republican counter-revolution.

Nevertheless, the convention was hurried much too far by the re-actors; it fell into an excess of justice in its wish to repair everything and to punish all. It was expedient, after the abolition of the decemviral government, to proclaim oblivion of the past, and to cover up the gulf of the revolution, after having thrown into it a few expiatory victims. Security alone produces peace, and peace only permits liberty. In again pursuing an intemperate course, they did no more than effect a dislodgment of tyranny, of violence,

and of calamity. Hitherto citizens had been sacrificed to the multitude, merchants to consumers: now it was quite the contrary; usurious interest and high profits succeeded the *maximum*, and the accusers of the middle class exceeded even the popular accusers. All who had taken a part in the dictatorial government were pursued with the utmost fury. The sections, which were the main seat of the citizens, demanded that the members of their revolutionary committees, composed of *sans-culottes*, should be disarmed and punished. There was a general hue-and-cry against the terrorists; a name which every day embraced a greater number than before. The departments accused all the old proconsuls, and thus, by a threat of great and perpetual reprisals, drove to despair a numerous party, from whom there was nothing more to fear; because they had no longer any power.

The dread of proscription, and many other causes, disposed it to revolt. The season had been very unfavourable, and the scarcity of food was dreadful: labour and its produce were diminished since the revolutionary era; during which, the richer class had been imprisoned, and the poorer class had governed.

The suppression of the *maximum* had occasioned a violent crisis, of which the merchants and contractors availed themselves to increase their profits, and to exercise a disastrous monopoly. To add to the difficulty, assignats were in discredit, and their value fell every day: they had issued them to the amount of more than eight thousand millions of francs. Their insecurity in consequence of the revolutionary confiscations, which had depreciated the national property, and which it was known must be redeemed out of the mortgage fund; the want of confidence of the citizens, merchants, &c., in the stability of the republican government, which they regarded as provisional: all those things had diminished the real value of assignats fifteen times below their nominal value. They were received with reluctance; and cash, as it was the more sought after, was so much the more carefully hoarded up, and the value of paper money still further decreased. The people wanting provisions, and not having the power, even with assignats, of purchasing them, were reduced to great distress: they attributed it to the merchants, to the contractors, to the land-holders, to the government, and they called to mind, not without regret, that

not long ago, they had both bread and power under the committee of public safety. The convention had prudently named a committee of subsistence to provision Paris: but this committee could not, day after day, procure, without much trouble and at considerable expense, the fifteen hundred sacks of corn necessary for this vast city; and the people, who waited in crowds for half a day, at the doors of the bakers, for the delivery of the bad bread which was distributed to each inhabitant, uttered complaints and violent murmurs: they nicknamed Boissy-d'Anglas, the president of the committee of subsistence, *Boissy Famine*. Such was the state of an exasperated and fanatical multitude at the time sentence was passing on its ancient chiefs.

On the 2nd March [12th ventose], shortly after the re-admission of the last Girondists, the assembly had decreed the arrest of Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier; their trial before the convention was appointed for the 23rd March [3rd germinal]. On 21st March [the 1st] which was the day of the decade and of the assembly of the sections, their partisans prepared a disturbance, for the purpose of preventing their

being put upon their trial: the outward sections of the two faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau were devoted to them. From those places, half petitioners and half rebels, they set off to appear before the convention; they demanded—*Bread, the constitution of* 1793, *and the liberty of the imprisoned patriots.* They met some young people and threw them into the basins of the Tuileries. But the report having soon spread that the convention was in danger, and that the Jacobins were going to attempt the rescue of their chiefs, the *troupe dorée,* followed by about five thousand citizens belonging to the interior sections, arrived to disperse the men of the faubourgs, and to act as the guard of the assembly. The latter, warned by this fresh danger, re-established, on the proposal of Sièyes, the old martial law, under the name of the "law of the grand police."

The commotion in favour of the accused having failed, they were transferred, on 23rd March [3rd germinal], before the convention. Vadier alone was contumacious. Their conduct was investigated with the greatest solemnity; they were accused of having tyrannized over the people, and oppressed the conven-

tion. Although proofs in support of the accusation were not wanting, they defended themselves with much address: they laid the oppression of the assembly and of themselves to the charge of Robespierre; they palliated the measures adopted by the committee, and sanctioned by the convention, on the ground of the excitement of the time, the defence of the republic, and the necessity of security. Their former colleagues bore testimony in their favour, and wished to make common cause with them. The Cretans [*Cretois*]—for so the wreck of the Mountain were called—also warmly supported them. Nine days had been consumed in carrying on the proceeding, and each day had been appropriated to making the accusation and hearing the defence. The sections of the faubourgs were in great agitation. The meetings, which continued from the 21st March [1st germinal], were multiplied on the 1st April [12]; and another insurrection took place to suspend that trial which the former could not prevent. The insurgents, this time, bolder and more numerous, forced the doors of the convention, and penetrated into the heart of it, carrying flags inscribed with the words—*Bread, the*

constitution of 93, *liberty of the patriots.* A great number of the deputies of the Crete declared in their favour; others, in the greatest consternation at this tumult, and at the disorder of this popular invasion, waited for the interior sections coming to rescue them. Deliberation was at an end. The tocsin which had been taken from the commune after its defeat, and placed on the top of the Tuileries, where the convention held its sittings, sounded the alarm, and the committee ordered the drums to be beaten. In a short time the citizens of the nearest sections met, marched in arms to the assistance of the convention, and a second time redeemed it. The accused, who had served as a pretence for the rising, were condemned to transportation; and a decree of arrest passed against the seventeen members of the Crete, who, having shewn themselves well disposed to the insurgents, might be regarded as their accomplices. Amongst them were Cambon, Ruamps, Léonard Bourdon, Thuriot, Chasles, Amar, and Lecointre, who, since the readmission of the Girondists, were again become Mountainists. On the following day those condemned to transportation were conducted to the castle of Ham.

The affair of the 21st April [12th germinal], decided nothing. The faubourgs had been repulsed without having been subdued; and before a party can be put an end to, a decisive defeat must deprive it of the residue of its strength and confidence. After so many questions decided against the democrats, one still remained of the last importance—that of the constitution. On that depended the ascendancy of the multitude or of the citizens. The defenders of the revolutionary government then fell back upon the democratic constitution of 93, which held out the prospect of repossessing themselves of the authority they had lost. On the other side, their adversaries endeavoured to substitute a constitution which would secure to them the advantages they had obtained, by a greater concentration of the government, and by placing it in the hands of the middle class. For a month the two parties prepared for the contest on this last field of battle. The constitution of 93 having been sanctioned by the people, there was a great prejudice in its favour: they attacked it therefore with the utmost precaution. At first they promised to carry it into effect without restriction; afterwards, they named a

commission of eleven members, to prepare *organic laws* which might render it practicable: they next hazarded objections against it, on the ground that it separated the different authorities, and only acknowledged one sole assembly, dependant upon the people even in matters of legislation. Finally, a deputation from the sections went so far as to designate the constitution as a *decemviral constitution, dictated by terror*. All its partisans, indignant and full of apprehensions, organized an insurrection to maintain it. This was another 31st May, as terrible as the former, but which not having the support of an all-powerful commune, not being directed by a general commander, not meeting an alarmed convention and submissive sections, had not the same result.

The conspirators, warned by the bad success of the disturbance of the 21st March and 1st April [1st and 12th germinal] forgot nothing which might compensate for their want of organization and of design. On 20th May [1st prairial] they decreed in the *name of the people an insurrection to obtain bread and resume its rights*, the abolition of the revolutionary government, the establishment of

the democratic constitution of 93; the deposition of the actual members of administration, and their arrest; the liberation of the patriots; the convocation of the primary assemblies for the 18th June [25th prairial], the convocation of the legislative assembly, designed to supersede the convention, for the 13th July [25 messidor], and the suspension of all authority not derived from the people. They determined to establish a new municipality to serve as a common centre; to seize upon the barriers, the telegraph, the alarm gun, the tocsin, and the drums; and not to stop until they had secured subsistence and repose, happiness and liberty, to the French nation. They invited the cannoniers, the gensdarmes, and the troops of foot and horse, to enrol themselves under the banners of the people: and they marched upon the convention.

The latter were at that moment deliberating upon the means of preventing insurrection. The daily crowds, which had assembled on account of the distribution of bread and of the popular fermentation, had not allowed it to perceive the preparations for a grand rising, nor consequently to organize any mea-

sures with respect to it. The committees hastened to apprize it of its danger. It instantly declared itself permanent, and made Paris responsible for the safety of the representatives of the republic; closed its doors, outlawed the chiefs of the rioters, summoned all the citizens of the sections to arms, and named as their leaders eight commissaries, amongst whom were Legendre, Henri Larivière, Kervelegan, &c. Scarcely had they departed, when a great noise was heard without. One of the outer doors was forced, and the women rushed to the tribunes, exclaiming—*Bread, and the constitution of* 93! The convention received them with a firm demeanour. "Your cries," said the president Vadier to them, "cannot move us; they will not hasten a single moment the arrival of provisions—they will only tend to delay it." A frightful tumult drowned the voice of the president, and interrupted their deliberations. They then cleared the tribunes. But the insurgents of the faubourgs soon reached the inner doors, and, finding them shut, fell upon them with hammers and hatchets. The doors gave way, and the mob rushed into the very middle of the convention.

The body of the convention then became a field of battle. The veterans and the gensdarmes, to whom the protection of the assembly was confided, cried to arms; the deputy Auguis, with a drawn sabre in his hand, put himself at their head, and succeeded at first in repulsing the assailants. They even made some prisoners. But the insurgents returned more numerous to the charge, and again invaded the body of the convention. The deputy Féraud entered precipitately, pursued by the insurgents, who fired many shots in the hall. They took aim at Boissy d'Anglas, who sat in the president's chair. Féraud darted to the tribune to cover him with his body; he was attacked with pikes and sabres, and fell dangerously wounded. They dragged him into the passage, and confounding him with Fréron, cut off his head, which they placed at the top of a pike.

After this contest they remained masters of the hall. The greater part of the deputies had taken to flight. None remained but the members of the Crete and Boissy d'Anglas, who sat covered, calm, and insensible, unmoved by the outrages and threats which were heaped upon him, continually protesting in the name

of the convention against the popular violence. They presented the bloody head of Féraud to him, and he bowed himself in token of respect before it; they wished to compel him, with pikes at his breast, to put the propositions of the insurgents to the vote, and he constantly met them with the most determined refusal. But the Cretans, who approved the insurrection, took possession of the offices and of the tribune, and decreed, in the midst of the applause of the multitude, all the articles contained in the manifest of the insurrection. The deputy Rome constituted himself their organ. They moreover named an executive commission, composed of Bourbotte, Duroy, Duquesnoy, and Prieur de la Marne, and a general commandant of the armed force, the deputy Soubrany. They thus prepared for the return of their domination. They decreed the recal of their imprisoned colleagues, the depositions of their enemies, the democratical constitution, and the re-establishment of the Jacobins. But a momentary invasion of the assembly was not sufficient; the sections must be conquered; for with them alone must the battle take place.

The commissaries sent to the sections, had

very quickly assembled them. The battalions of *La Butte-des-Moulins*, *Lepelletier*, *des Piques*, and *La Fontaine Grenelle*, who were the nearest, very soon took possession of the Carousal and its principal avenues. The complexion of affairs was immediately changed; Legendre, Kervelegan, and Auguis, besieged in their turn the insurgents at the head of the sections. They at first experienced some resistance, but they soon penetrated with fixed bayonets into the hall, where the conspirators were still in consultation, and Legendre called out, *In the name of the law, I command the armed citizens to retire.* For a moment they hesitated, but the arrival of battalions, who entered through all the doors, intimidated them, and they evacuated the hall with the disorder of flight. The members of the assembly returned, the sections were thanked, the deliberations of the former were resumed, all the measures adopted in the interval were annulled, and forty representatives, to whom fourteen others were afterwards added, were arrested as guilty of having organized, or by their discourses sanctioned, the insurrection. It was then midnight, and at five o'clock in

the morning the prisoners were already six leagues from Paris.

Notwithstanding this defeat, the faubourgs did not consider themselves beaten, and the next day they advanced in a body with their cannon against the convention. The sections, on the other hand, repaired there for its defence. The two parties were ready to commence hostilities; the cannon of the faubourgs which had been mounted on the Carousal, was already pointed against the castle, when the assembly sent commissaries to the insurgents. The negociations commenced; a deputy of the faubourgs being admitted to the assembly, at first demanded that which had been required the evening before, adding, "We are determined to die at our post rather than relinquish any of our demands. I fear nothing—my name is Saint-Légier. Long live the republic! Long live the convention, if it be the friend of the principles I believe it is!" They received the deputy in a favourable manner, and *fraternized* with the faubourgs, without however positively granting them anything. The latter, having no longer a general council of the commune to support

their resolutions, nor a commander like Henriot to keep them encamped until the very moment when their propositions should be decreed, did not proceed any farther. They retired, after having received an assurance that the convention would anxiously occupy itself with the question of subsistence, and that it would shortly publish the *organic laws* of the constitution of 93. From the affair of this day, it is very clear that an immense physical force and a determinate design are not sufficient to insure success, but that chiefs and an authority to support and direct an insurrection are also requisite. One single legal power now only existed; the party which possessed its favour triumphed.

Six democratical members of the Mountain, Goujon, Bourbotte, Rome, Duroy, Duquesnoy, and Soubrany, were handed over to a military commission. They appeared before it with a firm countenance, like men fanatically attached to their cause, but almost entirely free from violence. There was nothing against them except the commotion of *prairial;* but that, in a time of faction, was sufficient, and they were condemned to death. They all stabbed themselves with one knife, which

they passed from one to the other, exclaiming, *Long live the republic!* Rome, Goujon, and Duquesnoy were fortunate enough to dispatch themselves; the three others, in a dying state, but with a serene demeanour, were conducted to the scaffold.

Notwithstanding the repulse of the 20th May [1st prairial] and the evasion of their demand on the 21st [2nd], the faubourgs still possessed the means of insurrection. An event much more insignificant than the preceding disturbances, occasioned their final overthrow. The assassin of Féraud was discovered, condemned, and on the 4th, the day of execution, a mob succeeded in delivering him. A general cry was raised against the outrage, and the convention ordered the faubourgs to be disarmed. They were surrounded by all the interior sections: after having disposed themselves for resistance, they yielded, abandoning some of their leaders, their arms, and their artillery. The democratic party having lost its chiefs, its clubs, and its offices, nothing was left to it but an armed force, which rendered it still formidable, and institutions which might enable it to re-conquer all that it had lost. The inferior class, in consequence of this last blow,

was entirely excluded from the government of the state; the revolutionary committees, who formed its assemblies, were destroyed; the cannoniers who constituted its troops were disbanded; the constitution of 93, which was its code, was abolished; and the government of the multitude was at an end.

From the 27th July [9th thermidor] to the 20th May [1st prairial], the party of the Mountain was treated as the Girondist party had been from the 2nd June to the 28th July. Seventy-six of its members were condemned to death, or ordered to be arrested. It was obliged to submit, in its turn, to the same fate as that to which it had reduced the other; for in the season of passion parties have no notion of conciliation, they think of nothing but victory. Like the Girondists, they rose up once more to seize the power they had lost, and like them they fell. Vergniaud, Brissot, Gaudet, &c. were tried by the revolutionary tribunal; Bourbotte, Duroy, Soubrany, Rome, Goujon, and Duquesnoy, by a military commission. They all died with the same courage; from which it may be seen, that all parties are alike, and are regulated by the same maxims, or, if you please, by the same

necessity. From this period, the middling class resumed the conduct of the revolution out of doors, and the assembly was as much united under the Girondists as it had been after the 2nd June under the Mountainists.

CHAPTER XI.

Campaign of 1793 and 1794.—Disposition of the armies at the intelligence of the 27th July [9th thermidor.]—Conquest of Holland; positions upon the Rhine.—Peace of Bâle with Prussia; peace with Spain.—Descent of Quiberon.—The re-action ceases to be conventional, and becomes royalist.—Massacre of the revolutionists in the south.—Directorial constitution of the year 3.—Decrees of August [fructidor] which require the re-election of two-thirds of the convention.—Violence of the royalist party of the sections; its insurrection.—Events of the 4th October [13th vendemiaire],—Nomination of the councils and of the directory.—End of the convention; its duration and character.

THE prosperity of the revolution abroad contributed more especially to the fall of the dictatorial government and the party of the Jacobins. The increasing victories of the republic, to which they had immensely contributed by the vigour or the madness of their measures, rendered their power now unnecessary. It was the committee of public safety which, while it oppressed with its strong and formidable arm the interior of France, developed its resources, organized its armies, provided ge-

nerals, and insured victories; which finally secured the triumph of the revolution with respect to Europe. A state of prosperity did not require the same efforts, and its mission was accomplished, it being the property of such a dictatorship to save a country and a cause, and to perish by the very safety which it has produced. Internal events have prevented us from giving a brief sketch of the impulse given to the armies after the 31st May by the committee of public safety, and the results by which it was succeeded.

The *levy en masse* which had taken place during the summer of 1793 formed the troops of the Mountain. The heads of this party very soon selected from the inferior ranks, Mountainist generals in the place of those belonging to the party of the Gironde. These generals were Jourdan, Pichegru, Hoche, Moreau, Westermann, Dugommier, Marceau, Kléber, &c. Carnot became, by his entrance into the committee of public safety, the minister of war and the major-general of all the republican armies. Instead of dispersed bodies acting with little concert upon isolated points, he collected strong and concentrated masses of force, and directed them upon one grand

object. It was he who began the plan of carrying on war on a large scale, which he tried with decided success at Watignies, in the character of commissary of the convention. This important victory, to which he contributed in person, threw the allied generals, Clairfait and and the prince of Cobourg, behind the Sambre, the occasioned the raising of the siege of Maubeuge. During the winter of 1793 and 1794, the two armies remained within sight of each other without attempting any enterprise.

At the opening of the campaign, both of them conceived the plan of an invasion. The Austrian army threw itself upon the cities of the Somme, Péronne, St. Quentin, and Arras, and threatened Paris, whilst the French army again projected the conquest of the Netherlands. The plan of the committee of public safety was arranged in a very different manner from the vague design of the coalition. Pichegru, at the head of fifty thousand men of the army of the north, penetrated into Flanders, resting upon the sea and upon the Escaut. On his right, twenty thousand men commanded by Moreau, marched upon Menin and Courtray; general Souham remained with thirty thousand men under Lisle, to sup-

port the extreme part of the right wing of the army of invasion against the Austrians; whilst Jourdan, with the army of the Moselle, directed his course towards Charleroi by Arlon and Dinant, to effect a junction with the army of the north.

The Austrians, attacked in Flanders, and threatened to be surprised in the rear by Jourdan, decamped very expeditiously from their positions on the Somme. Clairfait and the duke of York were defeated at Courtray and at Hooglide, by the army of Pichegru; and Cobourg at Fleurus, by that of Jourdan, who had just taken Charleroi. The two victorious generals rapidly completed the invasion of the Low Countries. The Anglo-Dutch army fell back upon Antwerp; from Antwerp upon Bréda, and from Bréda upon Bois-le-Duc, experiencing in their route continual checks. It passed the Vahal, and threw itself into Holland. The Austrians attempted, equally unsuccessfully, to cover Brussels and Maëstricht: they were pursued and beaten by Jourdan's army, which, since its junction with the army of the north, had taken the name of the army of Sambre and Meuse, and which did not leave them behind the Roër, as

Dumouriez had done, but drove them beyond the Rhine. Jourdan made himself master of Cologne and Bonn, and communicated on his left with the right of the army of the Moselle, which had advanced, and which in conjunction with him occupied Coblentz. A general and concerted movement of all the French armies had taken place, and they pushed on to the frontiers of the Rhine. At the period of the defeats, the lines of Veissembourg had been forced. The committee of public safety employed, at the army of the Rhine, those expeditious measures which distinguished its policy. The commissaries Saint-Just and Lebas gave the chief command to Hoche, and made terror and victory the order of the day. In a short time generals Brunswick and Wurmser were driven from Haguenau upon the lines of Lauter, and not being able to maintain themselves even there, passed the Rhine at Philipsbourg. Spire and Worms were retaken. The republican troops were everywhere victorious, and remained in occupation of the Netherlands, that part of Holland which is situated on the left of the Meuse, and all the towns upon

the banks of the Rhine, except Mayence and Manheim, which were closely besieged.

The army of the Alps did not make much progress in this campaign. It attempted, but unsuccessfully, the invasion of Piedmont. Upon the Spanish frontier the war had commenced under disastrous auspices: the two armies of the eastern and western Pyrenees, few in number, and little accustomed to war, had been consequently beaten, and had at length retired, the one under Perpignan and the other under Bayonne. It was late enough before the committee of public safety directed its attention and its efforts to this point, which was not the most dangerous; but as soon as it had introduced its system, its generals, and its organization, into these two armies, the face of affairs totally changed. Dugommier, after repeated successes, expelled the Spaniards from the French territory, and penetrated into the peninsula by Catalonia. Moncey also invaded it by the valley of Bastan, at the other opening of the Pyrenees, and made himself master of St. Sebastian and of Fontarabia. The coalition was everywhere vanquished, and some of

the confederate powers began to repent of their too confident adherence to it.

During these occurrences, the intelligence of the revolution of the 27th July [9th thermidor] reached the armies. They were entirely republican, and were apprehensive lest the fall of Robespierre should carry along with it that of the popular government: they heard it therefore with marked disapprobation. But as the armies were in subjection to the civil power, none of them attempted an insurrection. The insurrections of the army only occurred between the 14th July and 31st May; because, being the refuge of vanquished parties, at every crisis of affairs the military chiefs had the advantage of a political seniority, and contended against their new opponents with all the vigour of a compromised faction. Under the committee of public safety, on the contrary, the most celebrated generals possessed no political importance, and were subjected to the terrible discipline of party. The convention had no trouble in retaining the armies in obedience.

A short time afterwards the operations of the invaders were continued in Holland and the Spanish peninsula. The United Provin-

ces were attacked in the middle of winter, and at many points, by Pichegru, who summoned the Batavian patriots to liberty. The party opposed to the stadtholder seconded the victorious efforts of the French army, and the revolution was effected at Leyden, Amsterdam, the Hague, and Utrecht, at the same time as the conquest of them. The stadtholder fled into England; his authority was abolished, and the assembly of the states-general alone governed the Batavian republic, which contracted an immediate union with France. This important conquest paralyzed the efforts of the English, and forced Prussia, threatened on the Rhine and through Holland, to conclude, at Bâle, with the French republic a peace, to which its reverses and the affairs of Poland had for some time disposed it. Peace was also concluded with Spain, alarmed at the progress of the French arms upon its territories. Figuiere and the fort of Roses had been taken, and Perignon advanced into Catalonia, whilst Moncey, after having made himself master of Villa-Réal, Bilboa, and Vittoria, marched against the Spaniards, who had retired upon the frontiers of Old Castile. The cabinet of Madrid de-

manded peace. It acknowledged the French republic, which restored its conquests, and received in exchange that part of St. Domingo which was retained by Spain. The two seasoned armies of the Pyrenees joined the army of the Alps, which, in consequence of this reinforcement, very soon invaded Piedmont, and passed into Italy.

These partial pacifications, and the disasters of the allied troops, directed the efforts of England and of the emigrants to the other side. The moment had arrived for taking a counter-revolutionary position in the interior. In 1791, when unanimity prevailed in France, the royalists had founded all their hopes on foreign powers; at present, the divisions at home, and the defeats sustained by Europe, left them no other resource than conspiracies. Unfortunate enterprises do not, as it is known, ever drive the vanquished parties to despair: it is victory alone which tires, which exhausts, and it is that which sooner or later brings back the domination of those who wait for it.

The events of *prairial*, and the defeat of the Jacobin party, had decided the counter-revolutionary movement. At this period the reaction, which had been conducted by the mo-

derate republicans, became generally royalist. The partisans of the monarchy were still as much divided as they had been from the opening of the states-general till the 10th August. In the interior, the old constitutionalists, whose strength lay in the sections, and who were composed of the rich middle order, did not understand monarchy in the same sense as the absolute royalist. That rivalry and opposition of interests, which is natural between citizens and the privileged orders, was always strongly felt. The absolute royalists themselves did not agree: the party which was beaten in France had little sympathy with that which was enrolled in the armies of Europe. But besides the divisions which existed between the Vendeans and the emigrants, there were also others amongst the emigrants after their first departure. All these royalists, however, though of different opinions, yet, as the time had not arrived for disputing the prize of victory, were perfectly agreed on jointly attacking the convention. The emigrants and the priests, who for some months had been returning in great numbers, assumed the banners of the sections, well assured that if they succeeded by means of the

middle class, they would be able to establish their own form of government; for they were agreed upon their chief, and had a precise aim: important points, in which the sections were deficient.

This new kind of re-action was for some time kept under at Paris; for the convention, which possessed great power, and remained neuter, was equally desirous of preventing the violence and usurpations of both parties. At the same time that it destroyed the domination of the Jacobins, it repressed the vindictive spirit of the royalists. Then it was that the greater part of the *troupe dorée* deserted its cause; that the leaders of the sections prepared the citizens for a contest with the assembly; and that the confederacy of the journalists succeeded to that of the Jacobins. Laharpe, Richer-de-Serisy, Poncelin, Tronçon du Coudray, Marchenna, &c. became the organs of the new party, and formed themselves into a club, a peculiar feature of which was literature. The active but irregular troops of this party assembled at the Theatre Feydeau, at the boulevard des Italiens, and at the Palais Royal, and commenced the chase of the Jacobins to the air of "The waking of the people."

The term *terrorist* now became the word of proscription, by virtue of which an *honest man* might conscientiously run down a revolutionist; and the class of terrorists was extended according to the passions of the new faction, whose partisans wore their hair *à la victime*. They were armed with a heavy bludgeon, and had lately adopted a grey dress with a black or green collar, the uniform of the Chouans.

In the departments, however, the re-action was much more violent, for there was no authority to interpose and prevent the carnage with which they were visited. There were but two parties there; one of them consisting of those persons who had been in authority, and the other of such as had been oppressed by the Mountain. The remainder of the population were alternately governed by the royalists and the democrats. The latter, foreseeing the terrible reprisals to which they would be subjected if they once yielded, resolved to carry on the contest as long as possible; but the defeat of their party at Paris produced their submission in the departments: an event which was succeeded by party executions of the same nature as those which took place under the pro-consuls of the

committee of public safety. The south became in a peculiar manner the scene of massacres *en masse*, and of individual slaughter. Associations were formed amongst the royalists, under the names of *societies of Jesus* and *societies of the Sun*, who took a dreadful revenge for the sufferings of their party. At Lyons, Aix, Tarascon, and Marseilles, they butchered in prison all those who had taken any share in the preceding government. In fact, nearly all the south became the victims of another 2nd September. At Lyons, after the first massacre of the revolutionists, the men belonging to the societies gave chase to the fugitives, and whenever they met one, they immediately, without any other ceremony than the cry of "Here is a *Matavon*," (for this was the name by which they were called) dispatched him, and threw the body into the Rhone. At Tarascon, the victims were cast from the top of a tower upon a rock adjoining that river. During this new reign of terror, and this general defeat of the revolutionary party, the emigrants, with the assistance of England, attempted the hardy enterprize of Quiberon.

The Vendeans had been exhausted by their

repeated defeats, but they were not entirely reduced. Their losses, however, and the disagreemeent of their two leaders Charette and Stofflet, rendered them but feeble allies. Charette had even agreed to treat with the republic, and a sort of pacification had been concluded between him and the convention at Jusnay.

The marquis de Puisaye, an enterprising but fickle man, who was better qualified for intrigue than for pursuing the hardy designs of partisan politics, formed the plan of substituting an insurrection in Brittany for the almost extinguished war of La Vendée. Several bands of Chouans, composed of the remnants of different factions, of enterprising adventurers, and of daring smugglers, already existed in the Morbihan; these bands attempted some expeditions, but were unable to keep possession of the country in the manner the Vendeans had done. Puisaye therefore, for the purpose of extending this new *Chouanerie*, made an application to the English government, and induced it to believe that if a small army, well supplied with ammunition and muskets, were landed, a general rising would take place in Brittany, and from

thence would probably spread over the rest of France.

The British ministry, disappointed in its hopes from a general coalition, wished nothing more than to involve the republic in new dangers, until such time as the courage of Europe should revive. In consequence of this representation therefore, it prepared an expedition, which was joined by the most enterprising emigrants, almost all the officers of the old marine, and all those persons who, weary of exile and the miseries of an unsettled life, were desirous of trying their fortune for the last time. Fifteen hundred emigrants and six thousand republican prisoners, who had enlisted themselves in this expedition, that they might get back to France, were landed from the English fleet on the peninsula of Quiberon, together with sixty thousand muskets and a complete equipment for forty thousand men. The troops which had disembarked, were joined by fifteen hundred Chouans, and were soon afterwards attacked by general Hoche, who succeeded in turning them: they were deserted by the enrolled prisoners, and after a most spirited resistance, forced to yield. In the war of extermination

between the republic and the emigrants, the vanquished were always treated as outlaws, and were butchered without mercy. This defeat inflicted a deep and incurable wound on the cause of the emigrants.

The royalists, whose hopes, founded first upon the victories of Europe, and afterwards upon the enterprise of the emigrants and the diffusion of the insurrection, had successively disappointed them, now resorted to the discontented sections. Their present design was to effect a counter-revolution by means of the new constitution, although it was the production of the moderate republican party; but, as it re-established the influence of the middle orders, they expected, through their means, to gain an easy admission into the legislative assembly and the government. This constitution, which was the result of six years' experience in revolution and legislation, was the best and wisest, the soundest and most liberal form of government which had yet been established or projected. The convention was at that time impressed with the necessity of organizing the powers of government, and of placing the people in a state of security; and in these points it differed essen-

tially from the first assembly, which, from its position, felt only the necessity of diminishing the influence of the throne, and of rousing the spirit of the nation. From royalty to the lowest order of society, every rank had been exhausted and broken up: it was now necessary to repair those injuries and to re-establish order, and at the same time to keep the nation in a state of constant and wholesome exercise. The new constitution did this. It departed little from that of 1791, as to the functions of the sovereign power, but it differed widely from it in all the details of government. The legislative power was lodged in two councils, called the *council of five hundred* and the *council of the ancients;* the executive power in a *directory*, consisting of five members. It re-established two degrees of election; in the primary one the electors of the deputies were chosen, and in the secondary the electors themselves, with a view of imposing a check upon popular commotions, and of producing a more enlightened choice than could be expected from direct elections. Wise but moderate qualifications, as to the property which members of the primary and electoral assemblies were required to possess,

were introduced, and again gave political importance to the middle order, whose influence it was highly desirable to re-establish, after the licentious reign of the multitude, and the abandonment of the constitution of 1793.

In order to prevent the despotism of a single assembly, it was deemed expedient that a power of preventing the enactment, or prohibiting the discussion, of laws, should be vested in some part of the government. The division of the legislative body into two councils, which had the same origin, the same duration, but different functions, answered the double end of not provoking the people by an aristocratical institution, and of contributing to the formation of a good government. The *council of five hundred*, the members of which were required to be thirty years of age, had the sole right of preparing and proposing laws: the *council of ancients*, composed of two hundred and fifty members, who had completed their fortieth year, that of adopting or rejecting them. In order to avoid precipitation in legislative measures, and to prevent the sanctuary of the council of ancients from being invaded in times of popular commotion, it was provided that it should not come to a

decision until after three readings, appointed at least five days from each other. In *urgent cases* however, this formality might be dispensed with, but the council itself was the sole judge of the urgency. This council at one time acted as a *legislative* power, when it did not entirely approve of a measure, and applied to the bill the form—*The council of ancients cannot adopt this measure.* At other times, it acted as a *conservative* power, when it only considered the bill in its legal relation, and said—*It is inconsistent with the constitution.* They adopted, for the first time, partial elections. It was fixed that, every two years, one half only of the members of the council should vacate their seats, in order to avoid the evil of filling the assembly with a body of entirely new members, who would naturally be animated with a zeal for novel measures, and would thus entirely change the spirit of the council.

The executive power, which had ceased to be exercised by the committees, was now taken out of the hands of the councils. They still retained too great a horror of monarchy to appoint a president of the republic; they contented themselves, therefore, with creating a *directory*, composed of five members, selected by the council of ancients, from a list

named by the five hundred. The councils had the power of putting the directors upon their trial, but not of revoking their appointment. The constitution invested them with a general and independent executive power, but it provided against the abuse of it, and took especial care that they should not exercise their authority so long as to lead to usurpation. They were entrusted with the direction of the military power and of the finances, with the nomination of functionaries, and the conduct of negociations; but they could do nothing but by their ministers and generals, for whose conduct they were responsible. They were to exercise the office of president, by turns, for the space of three months, and one of them was every year to vacate his seat, and a new member was to be elected in his stead. The president had the custody of the seals, and the power of signing, as the head of the government. The prerogatives of the royalty of 1791 were thus divided between the council of ancients, who had the veto, and the directory, who had the executive power. To the latter also was assigned a guard, a national palace (the Luxembourg) for its residence, and a species of civil list for its support. The council of ancients, the

office of which was to control any improper measures which might be proposed by the legislative power, was also entrusted with the means of repressing the usurpations of the directory: it had the power of changing the residences of the councils, and the seat of government.

The precautions of this constitution were infinite: it anticipated popular violence and the encroachments of power, and provided for all those dangers which had distinguished the different periods of the revolution. If any constitution could have been firmly established at this time, it was most assuredly the directorial one. It communicated new energy to the government and liberty to the people, and held out the promise of peace to all parties, if they would but have remained contented with their proper stations in the government, without recurring to the past, or looking forward to exclusive dominion. But its duration was as brief as that of the others which had preceded it; for it was unable to establish the authority of law against the wishes of the different factions, all of whom aspired to the government, and sought to establish their own system, and promote

their own interests; so that, instead of returning to the peaceful reign of the law, they fell back into that of force and political manœuvres. For when parties have no desire to terminate a revolution (and men who are not in power never have), it is quite impossible that any constitution, however good it may be, can ever be established.

The members of the commission of *eleven*, whose sole function, before the events of prairial, was that of preparing the laws of the constitution of 1793, and who afterwards established the constitution of the year 3, was at the head of the conventional party. This party belonged neither to the old Gironde nor to the old Mountain; it had remained neuter until the 31st May, and in subjection from that time until the 27th July [9th thermidor]: since this period it had, solely owing to the double defeat of the Girondists and Mountainists, which left it the strongest party, obtained the possession of power. It was now joined by men of opposite factions, who had already commenced the work of division in their parties. Merlin (of Douai) represented those who had yielded to circumstances; Thibaudeau, those who had remained

inactive; and Daunou those who had continued firm in their principles. The latter, who wished for the consolidation of the conventional government, free from violence or the interference of parties, had, since the opening of the assembly, declared himself opposed to all political manœuvres whatever, both against the 21st January and the 31st May. He censured the animosity which was, after the 27th July, displayed against the chiefs of the revolutionary government, of which he had himself, as one of the *seventy-three*, been a victim. As the nation advanced towards a state of order, he had obtained considerable influence. Indeed, his enlightened attachment to the revolution, his noble independence, his unshaken constancy, and the soundness and comprehensiveness of his mind, rendered him one of the most influential men of his age. He was the principal author of the constitution of the year 3, and was entrusted by the convention, in conjunction with some other of its members, with the defence of the republic in the important crisis of *vendemiaire*.

The re-action increased more and more: it was indirectly promoted by the members of

the *right*, who had, from the commencement of this assembly, been republicans by mere accident. They were not disposed to repel the attacks of the royalists with the same energy as they had done those of the revolutionists. Of this number were Boissy-d'Anglas, Lanjuinais, Henri-Larivière, Saladin, Aubry, &c. who formed in the assembly the nucleus of the sectionary party. Some of the old and violent Mountainists, such as Rovère, Bourdon de l'Oise, &c. carried away by the tendency of the nation to counter-revolution, permitted the re-action to take its course; a conduct which they no doubt pursued in order to make their peace with the party whom they had so violently opposed.

But the conventional party, supported by the democrats, exerted their utmost efforts to prevent the triumph of the royalists. They saw that the safety of the republic depended on the manner in which the councils were formed, and that as the members would be chosen by the middle order, which was under the direction of the royalist chiefs, those bodies would have a tendency to counter-revolution. They deemed it of consequence, therefore, that the preservation of the govern-

ment they were about to establish should be confided to persons who were interested in defending it. In order to avoid the error which the constituent assembly had fallen into, by excluding itself from the succeeding legislative assembly, the convention passed a decree that two-thirds of its members might be re-elected. By this means, it secured a majority in the councils and the nomination of the directory, and was thus enabled to act as a pilot to its own constitution, and to consolidate it without any violent commotion. The decree for the re-election of the *two-thirds* was not quite legal, but it was politic, and was the only course by which France could be saved from the dominion of the democrats or the counter-revolutionists. By the decrees of the 22nd and 30th August [5th and 13th fructidor], the first establishing this re-election, and the other the mode of carrying it into effect, the convention obtained a sort of moderating dictatorship. These two exceptionable decrees were however submitted to the primary assemblies, at the same time as the act for the establishment of the constitution.

They were a surprise on the royalist party, which entertained hopes of gaining admission

into the councils, by means of the elections; and through the councils into the administration; and, when it had thus obtained possession of power, of effecting a change in the system of government. An alliance was formed between the royalist committee of Paris (whose agent was the celebrated Lemaitre), the journals, and the leaders of the sections. They did not find much difficulty in gaining the support of popular opinion, of which they assumed to be the sole organs. They accused the convention of a design to render its power perpetual, and of aspiring to the sovereignty of the people; and in such accusations, the principal supporters of the re-election of the *two-thirds*, Louvet, Daunou, and Chénier, were by no means spared. The usual preparations for a great commotion were made; the faubourg St. Germain, which had lately been totally deserted, now became every day more populous; the emigrants arrived in shoals, and the conspirators, scarcely thinking it necessary to disguise their schemes, adopted the uniform of the Chouans.

The convention, perceiving the storm to be gathering, now sought assistance and support

from the army, which then constituted the great republican class, and whose camp was pitched under the walls of Paris. The multitude had been disorganized, and the citizens gained over by the royalists. In the meantime, the primary assemblies were convoked on the 6th September [20th fructidor], in order to deliberate on the act for the establishment of the constitution and the decrees relative to the re-election of the *two-thirds*, which were to be adopted or rejected together. On the motion of the section Lepelletier (formerly *Filles St. Thomas)*, which was the rallying point of all the others, it was decided *that the power of the constituent assembly ceased in the presence of the people.* This section, under the direction of Richer-Serisy, Laharpe, Lacretelle the younger, Vaublanc, &c. formed an insurrectional government, under the name of the *central committee;* a body which obtained the same sort of triumph against the convention in *vendemiaire,* as the committee of the 10th August had against the throne, and as the faction of the 31st May had against the Girondists. This measure was adopted by a majority of the sections, but was annulled by the decree of the convention, which was

in its turn annulled by a majority of the sections. The contest immediately became general, and in Paris they distinguished between the act for the establishment of the constitution, which they were disposed to adopt, from the decree of re-election, which they determined to reject.

The convention announced on the 22nd September [1st vendémiaire], that the decrees had been ratified by the greatest number of primary assemblies in France. The sections again assembled for the purpose of naming the electors, who were entitled to choose the members of the legislature. On the 2nd October [10th vendémiaire], they came to a determination that the electors should be convoked at the Théatre-Français (which was then over the bridges), and that the armed force of the sections, after swearing to defend them at the risk of their lives, should escort them to the place of meeting. The electors, of whom the duke de Nivernois was appointed president, in fact met the next day under the protection of a few detachments of light troops and grenadiers.

The convention, being apprised of the danger, immediately declared itself permanent,

summoned the camp of Sablons to its defence, and appointed a committee of five members, with power to adopt every necessary measure for the public safety. These members were Colombel, Barras, Daunou, Letourneur, and Merlin de Douai. The revolutionists had for some time past ceased to be feared, and those who had been imprisoned for the events of May [prairial] had, in consequence, been released. From fifteen to eighteen hundred, who had been prosecuted either at Paris or in the departments, were enrolled under the name of the *battalion of the patriots of* 89. On the evening of the 3rd October, the convention directed the assembly of the electors to be dissolved by force, but they had already separated, having adjourned until the following day.

The decree for dissolving the assembly of electors and arming the *patriots of* 89, caused that night the greatest agitation: the *generale* was sounded; and the section Lepelletier, which was loud in its clamours against the despotism of the convention and the return of *terror,* was engaged the whole of the next day (the 4th) in preparing the other sections for battle. In the evening, the convention,

which was in the same state of agitation as the sections, came to a determination to strike the first blow, to surround and disarm the conspirators, and thus put an end to the contest. This enterprise was confided to Menou, general of the interior, and Laporte, one of the representatives. The head quarters of the sectionaries was at the convent Filles St. Thomas, in front of which they had placed seven or eight hundred men in order of battle. The insurgents were surrounded by superior forces, which occupied the boulevards on their flank, and the street Vivienne in their front. But the leaders of the expedition, instead of disarming, entered into a parley with them. The result was an agreement that both sides should quit the field and disperse; but scarcely had the conventional troops disappeared, when the sectionaries returned in full force. This manœuvre produced the same effect as a real victory, and was as usual exaggerated in Paris. The consequence was, that it raised the hopes and increased the number of their partisans, and inspired them with courage to attack the convention the next day.

The latter was informed, at eleven o'clock at night, of the issue of the expedition, and of

the alarming effect it had produced. Menou was instantly removed, and the command of the military force transferred to Barras, who had filled the same office on the 27th July. A young officer who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon, and who had been cashiered by the re-actionist Aubry, was, at the request of Barras, appointed by the committee his second in command. He was a man of skill and resolution, and well qualified for the post at so dangerous a crisis. This young officer was Bonaparte: he appeared before the committee, but displayed none of those astonishing qualities which distinguished his subsequent conduct. Little of a party man, and summoned for the first time upon this great scene, his countenance wore an expression of timidity and bashfulness, which disappeared in the bustle of preparation and the ardour of battle. He sent in haste for the artillery of the camp of Sablons, which, with five thousand men of the conventional army, he disposed at all those points where an attack was to be apprehended. Towards noon on the 5th October [13th vendémiaire] the seat of the convention presented the appearance of a fortified place, which could only

be taken by assault. On the left of the Tuileries, the line of defence extended from Pont-Neuf, along the river, to the bridge of Louis XV: on the right, into all the small streets which run into the street St. Honoré, from the streets Rohan, Echelle, and Cul-de-sac Dauphin, as far as the street Revolution. In front, the Louvre, the garden de l'Infante, and the Carousal, were lined with cannon; and behind, Pont-Tournant and the Place de la Revolution, which were protected in the same manner, formed a park of reserve. Thus prepared, the convention awaited the arrival of the insurgents.

The latter, who had about forty thousand men under arms, commanded by generals Danican, Duhoux, Lafond, (who had formerly belonged to the life-guards), very soon surrounded the convention. Thirty-two, a large majority of the sections, had furnished their military contingent. Amongst the remaining sixteen, many sections of the faubourgs had enrolled their troops in the battalion of 89. Some of them sent reinforcements during the action, as those of *Quinze-Vingts* and *Montreuil;* others, who were desirous, were unable to do so, as that of *Popincourt;* and others, again, remained neuter, as that of

Indivisibilité. Between two and three o'clock, Carteaux, who had occupied Pont-Neuf with four hundred men and two four-pounders, was surrounded by several columns of the sectionaries, and compelled to fall back on the Louvre. The insurgents, who were strong at every point, were emboldened by this advantage. General Danican summoned the convention to withdraw its troops, and disarm the *terrorists*. The messenger, who was introduced into the assembly blindfold, occasioned, at first, some disturbance in it by his mission; and many of the members declared themselves in favour of conciliatory measures. Boissy-d'Anglas proposed a conference with Danican; and Gamon a proclamation, promising to disarm the *battalion of* 89, if the citizens would retire. These motions excited the strongest disapprobation. Chénier rushed to the tribune; "I am astonished," said he, "that you condescend to discuss the demands of sections in revolt. We can have no negociation with them; for the national convention there can be nothing but death or victory!" Lanjuinais attempted to support the motion, by describing the dangers and miseries of civil war, but the convention would

not listen to him, and, upon the motion of Fermond, passed to the order of the day. The debate as to peace or war with the sections was carried on however for some time longer, and was not finished, when, about half past four o'clock, the report of several discharges of musketry put an end to the discussion. Seven hundred muskets were brought into the convention, and the members armed themselves as a body of reserve.

The battle commenced in the street St. Honoré, of which the insurgents were masters, and the first discharge, from the hotel de Noailles. A destructive fire was kept up along the whole of this line; and a few minutes afterwards, two columns of sectionaries belonging to the other flank, and about four thousand strong, commanded by count Maulevrier, attacked the Pont-Royal from the quays. The battle then became general; but, as the place was too formidably defended to be taken by assault, it could not continue long. After an hour's fighting, the sectionaries were dislodged from St. Roch and the street St. Honoré by the cannon of the convention and the battalion of the patriots. The troops which were employed in the attack of the Pont-Royal,

were exposed, both in front and transversely, to three discharges of artillery from the bridge and the quays, which first threw them into disorder, and finally put them completely to flight. The troops of the convention were now everywhere victorious; at seven o'clock they began to act on the defensive, and at nine had succeeded in dislodging the sectionaries from the Théatre de la République, and the post which they still occupied in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal. The insurgents attempted during the night to erect barricades across the streets, and in order to impede the progress of the works, many vollies were fired from the street de la Loi (Richelieu). The next day, the 6th October, the section Lepelletier was disarmed, and the rest reduced to submission.

The convention, which had only engaged in the contest in its own defence, displayed a great deal of moderation in its conduct towards the vanquished party. The insurrection of the 5th October was, in effect, similar to the affair of the royalists against the republic, with this difference, that the convention resisted the citizens much more successfully than the throne the faubourgs. The state of the public mind at this time contributed in no small de-

gree to this victory; the nation now wished for a republic without a revolutionary administration, a moderate system of government without counter-revolution. The convention was a moderating power, equally hostile to the exclusive domination of the mob, which it had repulsed in May [prairial], and to the reacting domination of the citizens, whom it repulsed in October. On this account it appeared alone capable of satisfying the wishes of the nation, and of putting an end to the war of faction, which was kept alive by the alternate transition to power of the different parties. From the position, therefore, which the convention occupied in public opinion, together with its own danger, it derived the courage to resist, and the confident assurance of victory. The sections were unable to surprise, and still more unable to take it by assault.

After these events, the convention prepared to fill up the councils and the directory. The one-third, which was freely elected by the people, had been chosen under an impression that the individuals who composed it were re-actionists. Some members of the conventional party therefore proposed to annul the election of this *third*, and to suspend the ope-

ration of the constitutional government for some time longer. Thibaudeau ridiculed this proposal with much courage and eloquence, and his opinion was adopted by the whole of the conventional party. He deprecated all unnecessary despotism, and manifested great impatience to be freed from a provisional government which had lasted three years. The convention resolved itself into a *national electoral assembly*, for the purpose of filling up the *two-thirds* from its body. It then formed the councils: that of *the ancients*, of two hundred and fifty members who, according to the provisions of the new law, had attained their fortieth year; and that of *the five hundred*, out of the remainder of the assembly. The councils appointed the Tuileries for the place of meeting. Then came the question as to forming the executive part of the government.

The republican party, apprehensive, from the recent attack of October, of a counter-revolution, determined to choose the directors from the constitutional party only; and, moreover, from those who had voted for the death of the king. Some of the most influential members, amongst whom was Daunou, op-

posed this plan, on the ground of its confining their choice, and continuing the dictatorial and revolutionary character of the government; but it was adopted. The members thus chosen were Laréveillère-Lépaux, whose probity, moderation, and courageous conduct on the 31st May had gained him universal confidence; Sièyes, the man of greatest reputation in his time; Rewbell, a person of great activity in the administrative department of the state; Letourneur, a member of the committee of five in the last crisis; and Barras, who was chosen in consequence of his success in July and October [thermidor and vendemiaire]. Sièyes, who had no desire to form a part of the legislative commission of eleven, now declined to make one of the directory. Whether his refusal arose from calculation, or an insurmountable antipathy to Rewball, is not known. The vacancy was supplied by Carnot, the only member of the old committee whom, on account of his political honesty and the share he had in the triumphs of the revolution, they could have appointed. Such were the first members of the directory. The convention, on the 26th

October [4th brumaire], passed an act of oblivion, as a commencement of the government of the law; changed the name of the *place de la Revolution* to that of *place de la Concorde*, and declared its session at an end.

The convention sat three years, from the 21st September 1792, to the 26th October 1794 [4th brumaire, in the year 4]. It was moved in various directions, according to the state of the parties. For the first six months of its existence it was involved in the struggle between the *legal* party of the Gironde, and the revolutionary party of the Mountain; the latter of which prevailed from the 31st May 1793, to the 27th July 1794 [9th thermidor, in the year 2]. The convention was then governed by the committee of public safety, which first ruined its old allies of the commune and the Mountain, and afterwards perished by its own divisions. But from the 27th July to the month of October 1795, the convention kept the revolutionary and royalist parties in subjection, and endeavoured to establish a moderate republic in spite of both.

During this long and frightful period, the violence of the different factions converted the

revolution into a war, and the house of assembly into a field of battle. Each party struggled for victory in order to obtain the ascendancy, and endeavoured to effect the establishment of its own system in order to secure it. The Girondist party tried—and perished; the party of Robespierre tried—and perished. They obtained victories, but they could not establish their systems. The ruin of every party who attempted to return to peace and order was the natural consequence of such a state of affairs. Everything was provisional; both power, and men, and parties, and systems; because one thing, and one thing only was possible, and that thing was war. A whole year from the time it had regained its authority, was necessary to enable the convention to restore the nation to the dominion of the law; an object, which it could only effect by means of the two victories of May and October. The convention had now returned to the point from which it started, having accomplished its real design, which was to protect, and finally consolidate, the republic. After having astonished the world, it disappeared from the scene: a revolutionary power, it began to exercise its

functions the instant that order and the authority of the law ceased, and it terminated its career the instant that order and the authority of the law returned. Three years of dictatorship had been lost to liberty, but not to the revolution.

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.

CHAPTER XII.

Review of the revolution.—Its second character; transition of the people from a public to a private life.—The five directors; their labours in relation to the interior.—Pacification of La Vendée.—Babœuf's conspiracy; last defeat of the democratic party.—Plan of campaign against Austria.—Conquest of Italy by general Bonaparte.—Treaty of Campo Formio.—The French republic is acknowledged, and allowed to retain its acquisitions, the Batavian, Lombard, and Ligurian republic, which continue its system in Europe.—Royalist elections of the year 5; they change the position of the republic.—New struggle between the counter-revolutionary party reigning in the councils, in the club of Clichy, and in the *salons*, and the conventional party ruling in the directory, in the club of Salm, and in the army.—Measure of the 4th September [18th fructidor].—The October party is once more beaten.

THE French revolution, which had destroyed the ancient system of government and entirely overturned the ancient state of society, had two distinct aims,—a free constitution,

and an increased civilization. The six years of which we have taken a survey, were passed in search of a government; and during that time each of the great classes, of which the French nation was composed, attempted the establishment of its own peculiar system. The privileged class endeavoured to establish theirs against the court and the citizens, by retaining the distinction of orders and the states-general; the citizens, to establish theirs against the privileged class and the multitude, by the code of 1791; and the multitude theirs against the rest of the nation, by the constitution of 1793. None of these governments, however, could be consolidated, because they were of an exclusive character; but whilst they were in operation, each class, as it obtained a temporary superiority, destroyed whatever was intolerant, and whatever was calculated to retard the march of civilization in the classes above it.

When the directory succeeded the convention, the contest between the classes had become much less violent. The most considerable persons in each of them, however, formed a party, which still struggled for the possession of power and the establishment of

its own form of government; but the mass of the population, which had been so profoundly shaken from 1789 to 1795, longed for repose, and was ready to conform to the new order of things. It was at this period that the movement towards liberty ended, and that towards civilization begun; and the revolution, after the troubles and commotions attending the first years of its existence, and the total destruction of its immense labours, now assumed its second character; a character of order, of solidity, and repose.

This second period was remarkable on this account, that it seemed as if the nation had in some measure abandoned all idea of liberty. Parties being no longer able to enjoy it in a lasting and exclusive manner, grew discouraged, and retired from a public to a private life. This second period may be divided into two epochs; it was liberal under the directory and at the commencement of the consulate, and military at the end of the consulate and under the empire. The revolution now became every day more consolidated; after having produced a nation of partisans, it produced a nation of labourers, and then a nation of soldiers.

Many illusions were already destroyed; the people had passed through so many different states, and lived so long in so few years, that all ideas were confounded, and all creeds shaken. The reign of the middle order and that of the multitude had both passed away like a fleeting phantasmagoria. They were now far removed from the France of the 14th July, with its deep convictions, its great morality, its assembly exercising the omnipotence of reason and liberty, its popular majesty and its civic guard;—from that France, which, to the eyes of the world, presented an aspect at once animated, brilliant, peaceable, and independent. They were far removed too from the more gloomy and stormy France of the 10th August, when a single class directed both the government and the nation, which it imbued with its language, its manners, its costume, its fanatical ideas, its fears, and its jealousies. Private life was at that time forsaken for the busy scenes of public life; the nation exhibited by turns the aspect of an assembly and a camp; it shewed the rich in subjection to the poor, and the creeds of democracy mingled with the gloomy and ragged administration of the

people. At each of these epochs the people had been strongly attached to some prevailing idea: at first, it was liberty and constitutional monarchy; and at last, equality, fraternity, and the republic. But at the commencement of the directory they had no political creeds of any kind, and in the grand wreck of parties the virtue of the middle and of the lower orders was alike lost.

They issued from this violent tempest in a state of total exhaustion; and regarding political life with horror, they plunged without restraint into pleasures, and renewed the long-suspended intercourse of social life. Balls, feasts, sumptuous equipages, excesses returned, and were more in fashion than they had ever been: this was the re-action of the habits of the old regime. The reign of the *sans-culottes* brought back the domination of the rich; and the clubs, the return of the *salons*. Indeed it was almost impossible that the first return of civilization should not lead to excess. The directorial manners were the offspring of a different state of society, which was destined to appear before the new society could establish its relations, and form its manners. In the present change, luxury

naturally produced labour; stock-jobbing, commerce; the *salons*, the social intercourse of parties who could only tolerate each other in private life; and finally, civilization was calculated to ensure the return of liberty.

When the directory were appointed, the situation of the country was sufficiently discouraging. None of the materials necessary for the establishment of order, and the operations of the administration, then existed; the public treasury was exhausted, and the couriers were often detained from want of the small sum required for their journey. At home, anarchy and distress everywhere prevailed; paper money, the issues and credit of which were alike exhausted, destroyed all commerce, and every kind of confidence; famine appeared, for every one refused to sell his commodities, because it would in fact have been to give them away; and, in addition to these distresses, the arsenals were empty. Abroad, the armies were unprovided with waggons, horses, or provisions; the soldiers were destitute of clothes, and the generals frequently in want of that part of their pay which was in cash, amounting to eight francs a day, a

very moderate but indispensable addition to their pay in assignats. And lastly, the troops, whose wants had rendered them discontented, and impaired their discipline, had again been defeated, and were acting on the defensive.

Such was the distressing situation of the country after the fall of the committee of public safety, which had during its reign provided against scarcity both in the army and in the interior, by means of requisitions and the *maximum*. No person could escape this financial regulation, by which the mercantile and the wealthy classes were rendered tributary to the soldiers and the mob. During that period, therefore, the necessaries of life were not uselessly hoarded in warehouses. But since, when an end was put to violence and confiscation, the people, the convention, and the armies had been at the mercy of proprietors and speculators: the consequence was, a frightful degree of poverty—the reaction of the *maximum*. The conventional system of political economy consisted in the distribution of an immense capital, which was represented by assignats. This government had been rich, but it ruined itself in the

defence of the revolution. Nearly one half of the French territory, consisting of demesnes of the crown, estates of the dignified clergy and the emigrant nobility, had been sold, and the proceeds applied to the maintenance of the people, who worked but little, and to the defence of the country. More than eight thousand millions of francs had been issued before the 27th July [9 thermidor], and, since that time, thirty thousand millions had been added to that already enormous sum. Such a system could no longer be continued; it was necessary to recommence their labours, and to return to cash payments.

The men selected to remedy so great a disorder were, for the most part, persons of ordinary capacities, but they applied themselves to their task with earnestness, courage, and good sense. "When the directors," says M. Bailleul,* "entered the Luxembourg, there was not a piece of furniture in it. They procured a small wood table, one of the feet of which was destroyed by age, upon which they deposited a bundle of letter paper and a

* "Examen Critique des Considerations de Madame de Staël sur la Revolution Française." Par M. J. Ch. Bailleul, Ancien Deputé, tom. ii. p. 275 et 281.

writing desk, which, fortunately, they had taken the precaution to bring from the committee of public safety. Who would believe that in a closet, seated upon four straw chairs round this table, in front of some half-kindled billets of wood (the whole borrowed from the housekeeper, Dupont) the members of the new government, after having examined all the difficulties, nay, I would say, horrors of their situation, determined boldly to meet every obstacle, and to rescue France from the abyss in which she was plunged, or perish. They drew out upon a sheet of letter paper the act by which they declared they had entered upon their functions, an act which they immediately addressed to the legislative assemblies."

The directors afterwards appointed the several portions of the government amongst themselves, in doing which they were guided by the motives which had influenced the convention in selecting them. To Rewbell, a person of very great activity, a lawyer, well skilled in the administration of affairs and in diplomacy, they allotted the departments of justice, the finances, and foreign relations; and, by his skill or his imperious character,

he soon became the civil operator-general of the directory. Barras possessed no particular kind of knowledge, had but a moderate head, was without resources, and of indolent habits: but in the hour of danger, he was qualified by his resolution for the accomplishment of a bold measure, like that of July or October; in ordinary times, only for keeping a watch over the motions of parties, whose intrigues he was more skilful in detecting than any other man,—to him was entrusted the police. This office was the more adapted for him, because he was pliant, insinuating, and without attachment to any particular sect, and because, whilst his birth brought him in contact with the aristocracy, his conduct had obtained him revolutionary connections. Barras also took upon himself the character of representative of the directory, and established at the Luxembourg a sort of republican regency. The honest, the moderate La Réveillère, whose mildness, joined with his courage, and whose sincere attachment to the republic and to legal measures, had raised him to the directory by the unanimous voice of the assembly and of public opinion, had the direction of the moral department, education, sciences,

arts, manufactures, &c. Letourneur, an old officer of artillery, and a member of the committee of public safety in the last days of the convention, had been designed for the war-department; but Carnot was no sooner elected on the refusal of Sièyes, than he assumed the conduct of military affairs, leaving those of the marine and the colonies to his colleague. The great capacity and resolute character of Carnot, obtained him the lead in this party. Letourneur attached himself to him, as La Réveillère did to Rewbell; and Barras took his position between them. The directors were at this time occupied with the greatest unanimity in the reparation of the state, and the promotion of its prosperity.

They pursued the course pointed out by the constitution with great freedom. After having completed the distribution of power in the highest branch of government, they organized it in the departments, and established, as far as they could, a correspondence of design between the inferior administration and their own. Placed between the two discontented and exclusive factions of May and October [prairial and vendemiaire], they endeavoured, by a decisive line of conduct, to subject them

to an order of things between their extreme pretensions. They attempted to recal the enthusiasm and unanimity of the first years of the revolution. "You," they wrote to their agents, "whom we call to participate in our labours, you, whose duty it is, in conjunction with ourselves, to put the republican constitution in operation, your first feeling, your chief virtue, should be that decided wish, that patriotic faith, which has produced its happy enthusiasts, and performed its miracles. All that we wish will be accomplished when, by your care, that sincere love of liberty which sanctified the first dawn of the revolution, shall once more re-animate the heart of every Frenchman. Surely it is a highly interesting spectacle to see the banners of liberty waving over every house, the republican motto written over every door,—'Go on!' hasten the day when the sacred name of the republic shall be voluntarily engraven on every heart."

In a short time the wise and firm conduct of the new government re-established confidence, industry, commerce, and plenty. The circulation of the necessaries of life was again secured, and at the end of a month the

directory gave up the superintendance of provisioning Paris, which was thenceforward carried on without assistance from government. The immense activity created by the revolution began to incline towards industry and agriculture. Part of the population left the clubs and public *places* for their workshops, or the fields. The nation now felt the benefits of a revolution, which, having destroyed corporations, partitioned overgrown estates, abolished privileges, and quadrupled the means of civilization, was calculated to add prodigiously and rapidly to the prosperity of France. The directory encouraged this tendency to industry, by establishing public exhibitions of industry, and completing the system of instruction decreed by the convention. The national institute, the primary, central and normal schools, formed a collection of republican institutions. The director La Réveillère, entrusted with the moral part of government, was next desirous of introducing under the name of *theophilanthropy*, a form of deistical worship, which the committee of public safety had ineffectually attempted to establish by the *festival of the Supreme Being*. He provided temples for it, hymns, formulas,

and a sort of liturgy; but such a creed could not long continue general, it could only be individual. The *theophilanthropists* became the objects of ridicule; for their worship opposed both the opinions of the Catholics, and the unbelief of the revolutionists. Thus, in the transition from public institutions to individual creeds, liberty was converted into civilization, and worship into opinion. The deists remained, but the *theophilanthropists* were no more.

The directory, pressed by its pecuniary necessities, and the disastrous state of its finances, still resorted to measures of an extraordinary kind. It had sold or mortgaged the most valuable effects of the wardrobe, to supply the most urgent wants of government. The national lands still remained, but they sold badly, and were paid for in assignats. The directory proposed, and the councils decreed, a forced loan. This was one of the revolutionary measures against the wealthy; but having been decreed as an experiment only, and being carried on without the support of authority, it did not succeed. The directory next tried to renew the system of paper-money in the shape of territorial notes.

[mandats territoriaux], by means of which it was intended to withdraw the assignats from circulation, at the rate of thirty for one, and they were to circulate as money. An issue of territorial notes, to the extent of two thousand four hundred millions of francs, was decreed by the councils. They possessed this advantage, that they might be changed immediately on presentation for the national domains which they represented, and a great portion of which were by this means sold. In this manner was completed the revolutionary cycle of assignats, of which they formed the second period. They procured the directory a momentary supply, but they, in turn, also lost their credit, and insensibly led the way to bankruptcy, which was the transition from paper to cash payments.

The military situation of the republic was not brilliant; its victories had diminished at the close of the convention; and the equivocal position and weakness of the chief authority, joined with its poverty, had produced a relaxation in the discipline of the troops. Besides, the generals disappointed at having signalized their command with so few victories, and at not having the support

of an energetic government, began to incline to insubordination. The convention had directed Pichegru and Jourdan, the one at the head of the army of the Rhine, and the other of the Sambre and Meuse, to surround and make themselves masters of Mayence, in order that they might by that means occupy the whole line of the Rhine. This scheme entirely failed, through the misconduct of Pichegru. Although invested with the full confidence of the republic, and justly enjoying the greatest military reputation of that period, he entered into counter-revolutionary plots with the prince of Condé; but they were unable to come to a right understanding with each other. Pichegru invited the emigrant prince to enter France by Switzerland, or by the Rhine, promising that he would remain passive, the only thing which depended upon himself. The prince, on the other hand, required that Pichegru should, as a preliminary step, hoist the white flag in his army, which was entirely republican. This hesitation no doubt injured the cause of the reactionists, who now began to prepare the conspiracy of October [vendemiaire]. Pichegru, however, having determined in one way

or other to serve his new allies and betray his country, allowed himself to be beaten at Heidelberg, compromised the army of Jourdan, evacuated Manheim, raised the siege of Mayence with considerable loss, and exposed this frontier.

When the directory entered upon their office, the frontier on the Mayence side of the Rhine was exposed, the war in La Vendée re-kindled, the coasts of France and Holland threatened with a descent by the English, and the army of Italy, which was destitute of every necessary, sustained with difficulty a defensive warfare under Shérer and Kellermann. Carnot projected a new plan for the next campaign, which should carry the arms of the republic into the very heart of the hostile states. Bonaparte, who had been made general of the interior, after the insurrection of October, was now appointed to the command of the army of Italy. Jourdan was continued at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and Moreau was chosen to succeed Pichegru in the command of the army of the Rhine. An offer was made to the latter, whose treason, though not proved, was strongly suspected by the di-

rectory, to appoint him ambassador to the court of Sweden, but the offer was refused, that he might retire to Ambois, his native place. It was arranged that the great armies, under the command of Bonaparte, Jourdan, and Moreau, should attack the Austrian territories by way of Italy and Germany, should join at the passage of the Tyrol, and by degrees march upon Vienna. This great movement, the success of which would render the republic mistress of the chief seat of the coalition on the continent, the generals prepared to execute.

The command of the coast was given to general Hoche, with instructions to bring the war in La Vendée to a close. Hoche changed the system of war which had been pursued by his predecessors. La Vendée was, in fact, now inclined to submission; its early victories had not been followed by the triumph of its cause, and its subsequent defeats and ill luck had exposed it to the ravages of fire and sword. The insurgents, irrecoverably subdued by the disaster of Savernay, by the loss of their principal officers and their best soldiers, joined with the destructive system of the *infernal columns*, no longer asked for any-

thing but peace with the republic. The war was only maintained by a few of the chiefs, such as Charette, Stofflet, &c. Hoche perceived the necessity of first detaching the mass of the population from their leaders by concessions, a plan which would enable him completely to subdue them. He skilfully separated the royalist cause from that of religion, and, by affecting great indulgence to the catholic form of worship, he gained over the priests, of whom he availed himself against the generals. He scoured the country with four strong bodies of troops, carried off the cattle of the inhabitants, and only restored them at the price of their arms; he defeated Charette in many encounters, pursued him from retreat to retreat, and at length got him into his hands. Stofflett, who attempted to raise the Vendean standard on his own domains, was delivered up to the republicans. These two leaders, who had been engaged in the insurrection at its commencement, supported the cause to the last. They died with courage, Stofflet at Angers, and Charette at Nantes, having each of them developed a character and talents worthy of a more extended theatre.

Hoche was no less successful in establishing peace in Brittany. Numerous bands of *Chouans*, forming a powerful association, at the head of which was Georges Cadoudal, were collected in the Morbihan ; these bands, although they did not occupy the country in a military manner, still remained masters of it. Hoche directed all his energy and activity against them, and in a short time succeeded in either wearing out or destroying them all. The majority of the leaders laid down their arms and sought refuge in England. The directory, on learning these happy events, announced on the 16th July 1796 [28 messidor] to the two councils, that the civil war was at length brought to a close.

Thus passed the winter of the year 4. It was with some difficulty however that the directory could be protected from the attacks of the two parties, the democrats and the royalists, whose ascendancy its existence was the means of preventing. The former, an inflexible and enterprising faction, to whom the 27th July [9 thermidor] was a source of trouble and oppression, were continually attempting to establish absolute equality in spite of the state of society, and democratic

liberty in spite of the increased degree of civilization. But they had been so effectually subdued, that there was no chance of their ever again obtaining the possession of power. Ejected from the government on the 27th July, and driven out of society on the 21st May [2 prairial], it had lost its authority and its insurrections. But, though disorganized and proscribed, it was far from having disappeared; and, after the unfortunate attempts of the royalists in October, it once more rose from its state of depression.

The democrats re-established their club at the Pantheon, and it was for some time toerated by the directory. Its leader was Gracchus Babœuf, by himself called the *tribune of the people*, a bold man, of an excited imagination, and fanatically attached to an extraordinary kind of democracy. This man, who possessed great power over his party, prepared it, by his journal, for the reign of *general happiness*. The society of the Pantheon became daily more numerous and more alarming to the directory, which at first endeavoured to restrain it within bounds, but its sittings were in a short time prolonged to a late hour. The democrats at length repaired

thither in arms, and projected an expedition against the directory and the councils. The directory then determined upon making an open attack against them, and, accordingly, on the 26th February 1796 [8 ventose, in the year 4], it closed the society of the Pantheon, and on the following day sent a message to the councils, apprising them of the measure it had adopted.

Deprived of their place of meeting, the democrats resorted to other expedients: they seduced the *legion of police*, a body composed in a great measure of revolutionists out of place, and in concert with it they proposed to destroy the constitution of the year 3. Informed of this new manœuvre, the directory disbanded, and by means of the other troops, of whose fidelity it was secure, disarmed the legion of police. The conspirators, taken a second time by surprise, resolved upon a plan of insurrection and attack; they appointed an *insurrectionary committee of public safety*, which established communications with the lower order of the twelve communes of Paris. The members of the committee were Babœuf, the head of the plot, several persons who had belonged to the conventional party, such as

Vadier, Amar, Choudieu, Ricord, and Drouet the representative, and the generals of the decemviral committee, Rossignol, Parrein, Fyon, and Lami. The army of this faction was composed of unemployed officers, the patriots of the departments, and the bulk of the old Jacobins. The leaders frequently assembled in a place which they denominated the *Temple of Reason,* where they chaunted elegies on the death of Robespierre, and lamented over the *slavery of the people.* They had communications with the camp at Grenelle, and received amongst them a captain belonging to it, named Grisel.

They now prepared everything for the attack: they agreed to establish *general happiness;* and, for that purpose, to make a distribution of property; to institute a government of *true, pure, and absolute democrats;* to form a convention, consisting of sixty-eight Mountainists, the remnant of the faction proscribed after the re-action of July, together with a democrat from each department; and, lastly, to unite from the several points where they were distributed, and immediately march against the directory and the councils. On the night of the intended insurrection, they

were to post up two placards, one containing these words, "Constitution of 1793, Liberty, Equality, General Happiness;" the other, this declaration, "Those who usurp supreme power ought to be put to death by freemen." They were all ready, the proclamations were printed, and the day fixed, when they were betrayed—as usually happens in conspiracies—by Grisel.

On the 10th May [21 floréal], the evening preceding the intended attack, the conspirators were seized in their council chamber. The plan and all the details of the plot were found at Babœuf's house. The directory informed the councils of it by message, and announced it to the people in a proclamation. This singular attempt, which was so strongly tinged with fanaticism, and which was nothing else than a repetition of the insurrection in May [prairial], without its means, and without its hopes of success, excited the greatest terror: the recent domination of the Jacobins still presented a fearful image to the imagination. Babœuf, prisoner as he was, like a bold conspirator, proposed terms of peace to the directory.

"Would you," he wrote, "consider it be-

neath you, citizen directors, to treat with me as one power with another? You have observed the great confidence which is reposed in me; you have observed that my party is a match for yours; you have observed its numerous ramifications. I am convinced this observation has made you tremble." He concluded by saying "There is but one wise course to take:—proclaim that there has been no serious conspiracy. Five men, by being great and generous, may this day save their country. I assure you that the patriots are still devoted to you: it is not you that they hate; it is only your unpopular measures. For my own part, I will give you a security which shall last as long as my freedom." The directors, instead of concurring in the proposed accommodation, published Babœuf's letter, and directed the conspirators to be taken before the high court of Vendôme.

Their partisans made a last attempt. In the night of the 7th September, [23 fructidor,] about eleven o'clock, they marched to the number of six or seven hundred, armed with sabres and pistols, against the directory, which however they found defended by its

guards. They then proceeded to the camp of Grenelle, which, from the supposed understanding between themselves and it, they had hopes of gaining over. The camp had retired to rest when the conspirators arrived. When the sentinels demanded "Who goes there?" they replied "Long live the republic! Long live the constitution of 93!" The sentinels immediately gave the alarm. The conspirators, relying upon the assistance of a battalion of the guard which had been reduced, marched towards the tent of Malo, the commander, who ordered his men to sound to horse, and his dragoons, who were half naked, to mount. The conspirators, surprised at this reception, made but a feeble resistance: they were put to flight, leaving a number of dead, and many prisoners, on the field of battle. This unfortunate expedition was almost the last of the party; at each successive defeat it lost its energy and its leaders, and at length acquired the secret conviction that its reign was at an end. The enterprise of Grenelle proved a very disastrous affair to it; for, besides its losses in the engagement, it suffered considerably before the military commissions, which were as

fatal to it as the revolutionary tribunals had been to its enemies. The commission at the camp of Grenelle, at five times, condemned thirty-one of the conspirators to death, thirty to transportation, and twenty-five to imprisonment.

Some time afterwards, Babœuf and his accomplices, amongst whom were Amar, Vadier, and Darthé, the old secretary of Joseph Lebon, were brought to trial before the high court of Vendôme. They none of them belied their character, they spoke like men who were neither afraid to avow their designs nor to die for their cause. At the beginning and ending of each examination, they hummed the air of the *Marseillaise*. This ancient song of victory, joined with their confident demeanour, struck the spectators with astonishment, and seemed to render them still formidable. Their wives having followed them before the tribunal; Babœuf, in finishing his defence, turned towards them, and said "They might follow them to the very place of execution, for their punishment could not make them blush." Babœuf and Darthé were condemned to death, and they both, on hearing their sen-

tence, stabbed themselves with their daggers. Babœuf was the last chief of the old commune, and of the committee of public safety, which had been divided before July [thermidor], but had afterwards united. The final dispersion of this party, which had been diminishing more and more every day, may be dated from this period. Under the reaction it remained united, and under Babœuf presented a formidable association. From that time democrats still existed, but the party was disorganized.

Between the enterprise of Grenelle and Babœuf's condemnation, the royalists also engaged in a conspiracy. The effect produced upon public opinion by the projects of the democrats was quite the reverse of that which had been produced by the affair of October, and, in consequence, inspired the counter-revolutionists with confidence. In the troops of Grenelle, which had repulsed the faction of Babœuf, their secret chiefs hoped to find auxiliaries. This party, however, shewed both want of skill and impatience in its conduct, for not being able to avail itself of the sections, as in October, or

of the councils, as more recently on the 4th September [18 fructidor], it was weak enough to employ three men without influence or reputation, to carry on the negociation. These men were, the abbé Brothier, an old member of parliament, Lavilheurnois, and a kind of adventurer, called Dunan: they applied without disguise to Malo, who commanded a squadron, for the assistance of the camp in establishing the ancient government. Malo delivered them up to the directory, who, not being able to bring them to trial before the military commissions, as they wished, tranferred them to the jurisdiction of the civil power. They were treated with great caution by the judges of their party, chosen under the influence which had prevailed in October, and were only sentenced to a slight imprisonment. At this period the contest between the authorities which had been appointed by the sections, and the directory which was supported by the army, commenced. As each resorted to its own party for support and protection, when those who had the elective power placed themselves at the disposal of the counter-revolutionists, the

directory was compelled to introduce the army into the government, a measure which in the sequel produced dreadful inconveniences.

The directory was not only victorious over the two disaffected factions at home, but also triumphed over Europe. The new campaign had opened under the happiest auspices: Bonaparte, on his arrival at Nice, signalized the period of his taking the command, by planning one of the boldest invasions. His army had until that time done nothing but wander about the sides of the Alps; it was destitute of every necessary, and in number scarcely amounted to thirty thousand men: but it was well supplied with courage and patriotism, which enabled Bonaparte to commence a career which long excited the surprise of the world, and which was crowned with success for a period of upwards of twenty years. He raised the cantonments, and made preparations in the valley of Savone for the purpose of entering Italy between the Alps and the Appenines. Before him were ninety thousand troops, the centre of which was under the command of Argentau, the left of Colli, and the right of Beaulieu. This immense army was dispersed in a few days, by

prodigious efforts of genius and of courage. At Montenotte, Bonaparte overthrew the enemy's centre, and forced his way into Piedmont: at Millesimo, he effected the complete separation of the Sardinian and Austrian armies, which severally hastened to the defence of Turin and Milan, the capitals of their dominions. The republican general, before he pursued the Austrians, threw himself upon the enemy's left, in order to finish with the Sardinian army; at Mondovi, the fate of Piedmont was decided, and the alarmed court of Turin hastily prepared to surrender. An armistice was concluded at Chérasque, which was speedily followed by a peace between the king of Sardinia and the republic. The occupation of Alexandria, the key of Lombardy; the demolition of the fortresses of Suze and Brunette, at the back of France; the abandonment of the county of Nice, and of Savoy, and the release of the other army of the Alps under Kellermann, were the reward of a campaign of fifteen days, and of six victories.

The war being terminated in Piedmont, Bonaparte marched against the Austrians, to whom he was determined to allow no respite.

He passed the Po at Placenza, and the Adda at Lodi. The victory which he gained at the last place opened the gates of Milan, and put him in possession of Lombardy. General Beaulieu was driven into the passes of the Tyrol, and the republican army invested Mantua, and appeared upon the mountains of the empire. Beaulieu was then superseded by general Wurmser, and a new army joined the wreck of the vanquished one. Wurmser advanced, in order to relieve Mantua, and transfer the scene of war again into Italy: but he shared the fate of his predecessor; he was annihilated by Bonaparte, who, having raised the siege of Mantua, that he might oppose this new enemy, afterwards recommenced it with renewed vigour, and resumed his position in the Tyrol. The scheme of the invasion was executed with great unanimity and success. Whilst the army of Italy menaced Austria by the Tyrol, the two armies of the Meuse and the Rhine advanced into Germany; Moreau, supported by Jourdan on his left, was upon the point of effecting a junction with Bonaparte on his right. They had passed the Rhine at Neuwied and at Strasburg, and had advanced

upon a connected front, extending to the distance of sixty leagues, driving before them the enemy, who attempted in their retreat to stop their progress and to break their line. The two armies had almost achieved the object of their enterprise: Moreau had entered Ulm and Augsburg, had crossed the Leck, and his vanguard had arrived at the last pass of the Tyrol, when Jourdan, between whom and Moreau there existed a want of concert, imprudently advanced beyond the line.

The consequence was, that his army was broken and routed by the archduke Charles; and Moreau, whose left flank was now uncovered, was compelled to fall back. It was then that he effected his celebrated retreat. Jourdan was guilty of a capital error, which for the present prevented the accomplishment of this great design, and also allowed the Austrian monarchy time to breathe.

The cabinet of Vienna, which had lost the Netherlands, felt the importance of preserving Italy, and therefore defended it with the greatest obstinacy. Wurmser, after a fresh defeat, was forced to throw himself into Mantua, with the wreck of his army. General Alvinzi next came to try his fortune,

but had no better success than Beaulieu and Wurmser. New victories were added to the already astonishing achievements of the army of Italy, and the conquest of that country was secured. Mantua capitulated, and the republican army, being now masters of Italy, took their route across the mountains to Vienna. Bonaparte having prince Charles, the last hope of Austria, before him, soon freed the defiles of the Tyrol, and debouched upon the plains of Germany. In the meantime the two armies of the Rhine and the Meuse, the first under the command of Moreau, and the other of Hoche, resumed with success the plan of the last campaign. The cabinet of Vienna became alarmed, and concluded the armistice of Leoben. It had in fact tried all its generals, and exhausted all its strength, whilst the French republic, on its side, was in the full vigour of conquest.

The army of Italy completed the work of the French revolution in Europe. The success of this surprising campaign was owing to the union of a commander of genius with an intelligent army. Bonaparte's lieutenants were themselves qualified to command, and had sufficient confidence in their own talents

to take upon themselves the responsibility of a movement or a battle; and his army was composed of citizens, even of cultivated and noble minds, who were ambitious to perform memorable deeds, and who were passionately attached to a revolution, which not only aggrandized their country but secured within the limits of discipline their own independence, and even afforded every soldier the opportunity of himself becoming a general. With men like these, a man of genius might do anything. The remembrance of his earlier days, when he called liberty and intelligence around him, was calculated to make Bonaparte regret, at a later period of his life, that he had substituted mechanical armies in their place, and generals who knew nothing but how to obey. Bonaparte now commenced the third epoch of the war. The campaign of 1792 had been carried on according to the old system, with single bodies of troops acting separately, but still preserving their line. The committee of public safety concentrated these bodies, directed their operations not merely to what was immediately before them, but to more remote objects, increased the rapidity of their movements, and pointed them to one general

end. That which the committee did for every campaign, Bonaparte did for every battle. He moved the various parts of his army to the determinate point; and so rapid were his evolutions, that with a single army he was able to disorganize many. He could dispose of his forces at pleasure, and move them with secrecy and dispatch to any point that he wished, either to occupy a position or gain a battle. His diplomatic skill was equal to his military science. All the Italian governments had adhered to the coalition, but the people were favourable to the French republic. Bonaparte relied upon the people; Piedmont, which he could not subdue, he contrived to neutralize; the Milanese, which until that time had been dependent on Austria, he converted into the Cisalpine Republic; and by means of contributions he weakened the petty princes of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, without going the length of depriving them of their governments. The pope, who, on the first success of Bonaparte against Beaulieu, had signed an armistice, which he did not scruple to break on the arrival of Wurmser, purchased a peace by the cession of Bologna and Ferrara, which were added

to the Cisalpine republic; and lastly, the aristocratic governments of Venice and Genoa, which had joined the coalition and raised an insurrection in the rear of the army, were changed into democracies, in order to transfer the power of the nobles into the hands of the people. In this manner the revolution penetrated into Italy.

By the preliminaries of Leoben, Austria ceded the Netherlands to France, and acknowledged the Lombard republic. All the confederate powers had laid down their arms, and England herself was desirous of entering into negociations for peace. France, which had now attained her natural limits, was free and at peace at home, and was surrounded by infant republics, such as those of Holland, Lombardy, and Liguria, which protected her borders and extended her system in Europe. The coalition could be little disposed again to attack a revolution, every administration of which had been victorious; that of the anarchists after the 10th of August, that of the dictatorship after the 31st May, and that of legal authority, under the directory; a revolution, which at every fresh hostility, encroached a little farther on European territory.

In 1792 it had only extended to the Netherlands; in 1794 it had advanced to Holland, and as far as the Rhine; in 1796 it had overrun Italy, and penetrated into part of Germany; and it was probable, that if it had resumed its march, it would have achieved more distant conquests. Everything therefore was favourable to a general pacification.

But the situation of the directory was considerably altered by the elections of May 1797 (in the year 5.) These elections, by introducing the royalist party into the legislature and the government, again raised the question, which the battle of *vendémiaire* had decided. Until this period a perfectly good understanding had subsisted between the directory and the councils. Both composed of conventionalists, united by a common interest, and equally animated by the wish to establish the republic after it had been shaken by all the storms of party, they had manifested much good will to each other in their communications, and great concert in their measures. The councils had acceded to the different demands of the directory. They had, with some slight modifications, approved of its projects relative to finance and the ad-

ministration of affairs, and had sanctioned its conduct with respect to the conspiracies, to the armies, and to Europe. The anti-constitutional minority had formed an opposition in the councils; but being in expectation of receiving a reinforcement by the election of a new third, it conducted its opposition with some degree of caution. At its head were Barbé-Marbois, Pastoret, Vaublanc, Dumas, Portalis, Siméon, Trançon-Ducoudray, and Dupont de Nemours, most of whom had been members of the *right*, under the legislative assembly, and some of whom were avowed royalists. In consequence of the increased strength which they acquired by the elections of the year 5, their intentions became less equivocal, and their attitude more menacing.

The royalists were in fact an active and formidable body, which had its chiefs, its agents, its lists, and its journals. They prevented the election of the republicans, and for the time assumed the banner of the multitude, which, as it always follows the most energetic party, was carried away by their enthusiasm. They were not disposed even to admit the patriots of the first period, and in fact chose none but decided counter-revolu-

tionists or equivocal constitutionalists. At this period the republican party was in possession of the government and the army; the royalist party of the electoral assemblies and the councils. On the 28th May [1 prairial, in the year 5] the councils assembled. From that moment they shewed the spirit which animated them. Pichegru, whom the royalists introduced upon the new field of battle, was chosen president of the younger council with enthusiasm, and Barbé-Marbois was called with the same animation to the presidency of the ancients. The legislative body next proceeded to the nomination of a director in the place of Letourneur, who had been declared the retiring member by ballot on the 19th May [30 floréal]. Their choice fell upon Barthélemy, the ambassador to Switzerland, who, being a royalist and an advocate for peace, was agreeable both to the councils and to Europe; but his absence from France during all the period of the revolution rendered him but ill qualified to take a part in the government of the republic.

These indications of hostility against the directory and the conventional party, were succeeded by more serious attempts. Their

administration and their policy were openly attacked. Everything that could have been done by a legal government in a situation which was still of a revolutionary nature, had been done by the directory. It was, however, reproached with the continuance of the war and the disorder of the finances. The majority of the legislative assemblies availed itself with address of the public necessities; it supported the unrestrained license of the press, because it allowed the journals to attack the directory, and thus lay the foundation of a different system: it advocated peace, because it would occasion the disarming of the republic; and lastly, it espoused the cause of economy.

These measures were in some degree both useful and national. France was exhausted, and felt the necessity of them, in order to enable her to complete her social restoration; she therefore half entered into the wishes of the royalists, without, by any means, participating in their motives. The measures of the councils relative to priests and emigrants, created rather more alarm. The nation wished for peace, but not that the vanquished should return in triumph. The acts of grace, which

the councils passed in their favour were marked with extreme precipitation. They abolished, and properly, the transportation or imprisonment of priests on account of religion or of *incivism*, but they also endeavoured to establish the ancient privileges of their worship, to invest re-established Catholicism, with an outward distinction by the use of bells, and to exempt the priests from the oaths required of public functionaries. Camille Jordan, a young Lyonese deputy, distinguished by his eloquence and courage, but who entertained some unreasonable opinions, was the great panegyrist of the clergy in the younger council. His speech on this subject occasioned great surprise, and produced violent opposition. All that remained of enthusiasm was still of a patriotic kind, and they were therefore astonished at the exhibition of so different a description of enthusiasm as that of religion: they had in the last age, and during the revolution, been totally unaccustomed to it, and they could not now comprehend it. It was at this time that the old party reconstructed its creeds and introduced its language into society, and mingled them with the creeds and language

of the reformers, who had been until then the sole dominant party. The consequence was, as it usually happens in those things for which the public is unprepared, that an impression of an unfavourable and ridiculous kind was excited against Camille-Jordan, and he was nicknamed *Chiming Jordan*, and *Jordan of the bells*. The efforts of the advocates of the clergy were not, however, crowned with success: the council of five hundred had not yet the courage to decree the re-establishment of bells and the independence of the clergy. The moderate party, after a little hesitation, joined the side of the directory, and supported the civic oath amidst cries of *Long live the republic!*

The hostilities against the directory nevertheless continued, especially in the council of five hundred, which was more headstrong and impatient than that of the ancients. These indications inspired the royalists of the interior with courage. They renewed the retaliatory system against the patriots, and those who had acquired the national domains. Emigrants and refractory priests returned in crowds, and not being able to submit to any part of the revolution, they took no pains to

conceal their design of overturning it. The authority of the directory, thus menaced in the metropolis, and disavowed in the departments, became entirely powerless. But the absolute necessity of defending itself, the anxiety of all who were devoted to it and to the revolution, inspired it with courage and with hope. The proceedings of the councils excited a suspicion against their attachment to the republic. The multitude, who had at first supported, now abandoned them. The constitutionalists of 1791 and the directorial party formed an alliance. The club of Salm, established under their auspices, was placed in opposition to the club of Clichy, for a long time the rendezvous of the most influential members of the councils. The directory, at the same time that it relied on public opinion, did not neglect its chief security, the support of the troops. Several regiments of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, commanded by Hoche, were ordered to advance towards Paris: the limit of six *myriametres* (twelve leagues) which the troops could not pass without violating the constitution, was disregarded. The councils complained of this to the directory, who pretended an ill-

concealed ignorance of the matter, and made very unsatisfactory excuses.

The two parties were watching each other: the position of the one was in the directory, the club of Salm, and the army; that of the other in the councils, at Clichy, and in the *salons* of the royalists. The multitude were spectators. Each party was inclined to act in the revolutionary fashion towards the other. An intermediate party, whose principles were of a constitutional and pacific nature, attempted to prevent this struggle, and to re-establish a harmony which was altogether impossible. Carnot was at the head of this party, and some members of the council of five hundred, directed by Thibadeau, together with a considerable number of the ancients, supported his scheme. Carnot, who at this period was the director of the constitution, and Barthélemy, who was the director of the legislature, constituted a minority in the government. The former, austere in his conduct and self-willed in his views, could agree neither with Barras nor the imperious Rewbell. To this dissimilarity in character was added a difference of system; Barras and Rewbell, supported by La Ré-

veillère, were by no means indisposed to resort to violence against the councils, whilst Carnot was desirous of strictly adhering to the provisions of the law. This great citizen had at each epoch of the revolution distinctly perceived the mode of government which was most suitable to it; and his ideas were no sooner formed than they became a firm conviction. Thus, under the committee of public safety, he had a firm conviction of the necessity of dictatorship; and under the directory, of legal government. In not attaching any importance to difference of circumstances, he found himself placed in a singular position; he was an advocate for peace at a time of war, and for the law at a time of violence.

The councils, in some alarm at the preparations of the directory, manifested a desire to accommodate matters, on the sacrifice of certain ministers who did not possess their confidence. These ministers were Merlin de Douai, the minister of justice; Lacroix, of foreign affairs; and Ramel, of finance. On the other hand, they were desirous of retaining Pétiet, the minister of war; Bénésech, of home affairs; and Cochon

de l'Apparent, of police. Their object was that, in case of their failing to secure the directorial power, they might at least make sure of the ministry. Far from acceding to this wish, which would have introduced the enemy into the government, Rewbell, Laréveillère, and Barras, deposed the ministers protected by the councils, and retained the others. Bénésech was succeeded by François de Neufchâteau; Pétiet by Hoche, and soon after by Shérer; Cochon de l'Apparent by Lenoir-Laroche; and Lenoir-Laroche, who did not possess sufficient decision of character, by Sotin. Talleyrand also formed one of this ministry. He had, at the conclusion of the conventional session, been struck out of the list of emigrants as a revolutionist of 1791; and his extraordinary penetration, which always enabled him to take the side which held out the greatest promise of victory, rendered him at this period a directorial republican. He succeeded Lacroix, and by his advice and his boldness was essentially instrumental in producing the events of September [fructidor].

War appeared at this time more and more inevitable. The directory would by no means

consent to an accommodation, the only effect of which would have been to postpone their ruin, and that of the republic, until the elections of the year 6. They procured menacing addresses from the armies, directed against the councils. Augereau was the bearer of those of the army of Italy. "*Tremble royalists!*" said the soldiers; "*it is but a step from the Adige to the Seine. Tremble! your iniquities are numbered, and we carry their reward at the point of our bayonets!*"—"*It is with indignation,*" said the officers of the staff, "*that we have seen liberty endangered by the intrigues of the royalists. We have sworn by the spirits of our departed heroes, who died for their country, implacable war against royalty and royalists. Such are our sentiments, such are yours; such are the sentiments of all true patriots. Let them but shew themselves royalists, and they shall have lived!*" The councils protested, but without effect, against this interference of the army. General Richepanse, who commanded the troops which had arrived from the Sambre and Meuse, posted them at Versailles, at Meudon and at Vincennes. The councils had been the assailants in May [prairial]; but as their cause would probably be

again successful in the year 6, without risk and without the necessity of fighting for it, they kept upon the defensive after July 1797. They nevertheless made dispositions for an engagement, in case it should become necessary; they directed that the *constitutional circles* should be closed, in order that they might get rid of the club of Salm; they augmented the powers of the *inspectors of the hall*, who exercised the powers of the legislative body, and of which the two royalist conspirators, Willot and Pichegru, were members. The guard of the councils, which had been subject to the directory, was placed under the immediate orders of the inspectors of the hall. Finally, on the 3rd September, [17 fructidor], the legislative body conceived the design of obtaining the assistance of the militia of October [vendémiaire] and, upon the motion of Pichegru, it decreed the formation of the national guard. This measure was to be executed the next day, when it was proposed that the councils should decree the removal of the troops. At the point to which the two parties had arrived, a victory was necessary, in order once more to decide the great contest between the revolution

and the old government. The intemperate general Willot was anxious that the councils should strike the first blow, that they should decree the accusation of the three directors, Barras, Rewbell, and Laréveillère; that they should oblige the other two to enter the legislative body; that, if the government refused to obey, the tocsin should be sounded, and that they should march with the old sections against the directory; that Pichegru should be placed at the head of the *legal insurrection*, and that all these measures should be taken promptly, boldly, and openly. It is said that Pichegru hesitated; and, the advice of the indecisive part of the councils prevailing, they pursued the tardy course of constitutional proceedings.

Not so with the directory. Barras, Rewbell, and Laréveillère, resolved to attack Carnot, Barthélemy, and the majority of the legislative assembly, without a moment's delay. The morning of the 4th was appointed for the execution of this project. The troops stationed round Paris entered the city on the preceding evening, under the command of Augereau. The project of the directorial triumvirate was to take possession of the

Tuileries with the troops, before the legislative body could assemble, and thus avoid a forcible expulsion; to convene the councils in the vicinity of the Luxembourg, after having arrested their principal leaders, and to complete, by a legislative enactment, a stroke of policy which had been commenced by force. They were supported by the minority of the councils, and they relied upon the approbation of the multitude. At one o'clock in the morning the troops arrived at the Hotel-de-Ville, and stationed themselves upon the quays, the bridges, and the Champs Elysées. In a very short time twelve thousand men, and forty pieces of cannon, surrounded the Tuileries. At four o'clock the alarm gun was fired, and general Augereau presented himself at the gate of the Pont-Tournant.

The guard of the legislative body was under arms, and the inspectors of the hall, apprised on the preceding evening of the expected movement, had repaired to the national palace (the Tuileries), for the purpose of defending the entrance. Ramel, the commander of the legislative guard, was devoted to the councils, and he had stationed his eight

hundred grenadiers at the different avenues of the garden, which was secured by gates. But it was not with so feeble a force that Pichegru, Willot, and Ramel, could oppose any effectual resistance to the directory. Augereau had no occasion even to force the passage of the Pont-Tournant; he had scarcely arrived within hearing of the grenadiers, before he called to them,—*Are you republicans?* The latter immediately replied by lowering their arms, and crying *Long live Augereau! Long live the directory!* and joined him. Augereau traversed the garden, penetrated the hall of the councils, and arrested Pichegru, Willot, Ramel, and all the inspectors of the hall, whom he sent to the Temple. The members of the council were hastily convened by the inspectors, and repaired in crowds to the place of meeting, but the troops either arrested, or refused to admit them. Augereau announced to them, that the directory, being strongly impressed with the necessity of taking measures to defend the republic against the machinations of conspirators, sitting in the very midst of the councils, had appointed the Odéon and the School of Medicine for their place of meeting. The major part of the deputies exclaimed, but in vain, against mili-

tary violence and directorial usurpation. At six o'clock in the morning, the whole business was completed. The Parisians on rising, found the troops still in arms, and the walls placarded with proclamations announcing the discovery of a formidable conspiracy. The people were invited to retain their confidence and preserve order. The directory had already printed a letter addressed to it by general Moreau, in which he detailed the plots of his predecessor Pichegru with the emigrants, and also another letter from the prince of Condé to Imbert-Colomès, a member of the council of ancients. The whole population remained quiet, and being a mere spectator of events produced by the assistance of the army, without the co-operation of parties, it manifested neither approbation nor regret.

The directory were desirous that this extraordinary proceeding should obtain the sanction of the law, and, above all, that it should be completed. As soon, therefore, as the members of the five hundred and those of the ancients were assembled at the Odéon and the School of Medicine, and found themselves in sufficient number for the purposes of deliberation, and had established themselves, a message from the directory announced to

them the motives by which it had been actuated in all its measures. "Legislative citizens," said this message, "if the directory had but delayed one day longer, the republic would have fallen a victim to its enemies. The very place in which you sit was appointed for the meeting of the conspirators; it was there that they yesterday distributed their passes and their certificates for the delivery of arms; it was from that point that they this night carried on a correspondence with their accomplices, and, finally, it was from that place or in the neighbourhood, that they again attempted those clandestine and seditious assemblages which the police is at this moment engaged in dispersing. To have allowed the faithful representatives of the people to be thus confounded with the enemies of their country, would have been to have endangered not only the public safety but their own." The council of five hundred appointed a commission, composed of Sièyes, Poulain-Grandpré, Villers, Chazel, and Boulay de la Meurthe, with instructions to prepare a *law of public safety*. The measure they adopted was that of banishment, which thus

succeeded to the scaffold in this second period of revolution and dictatorship.

The members of the *council of five hundred* condemned to exile, were—Aubry, J. J. Aimé, Bayard, Blain, Boissy-d'Anglas, Borne, Bourdon de l'Oise, Cadroy, Couchery, Delahaye, Delarue, Doumère, Dumolard, Duplantier, Gibert Desmolières, Henri-Larivière, Imbert Colomès, Camille Jordan, Jourdan (des Bouches du Rhône), Gall, La Carrière, Lemarchand-Gomicourt, Lemérer, Mersan, Madier, Maillard, Noailles, André, Mac-Cartin, Pavie, Pastoret, Pichegru, Polissard, Praire-Montaud, Quatremère-Quincy, Saladin, Siméon, Vauvilliers, Vienot-Vaublanc, Villaret-Joyeuse, and Willot. Those of the *council of the ancients* were—Barbé-Marbois, Dumas, Ferraud-Vaillant, Lafond-Ladebat, Laumont, Muraire, Murinais, Paradis, Portalis, Rovère, Tronçon-Ducoudray: and those of the directory, Carnot and Barthélemy. In addition to the persons above mentioned, they condemned the abbé Brothièr, La Villeheurnois, and Dunan; the ex-minister of police, Cochon; the ex-agent of the police, Dossonville; generals Miranda and Morgan; the

journalist Suard, the ex-conventionalist Mailhe, and the commandant Ramel. Some of the condemned members contrived to avoid the execution of the sentence of exile: Carnot was one of them. The greater part were banished to Cayenne, but a great many never quitted the isle of Rhé.

This act of ostracism was very much extended by the directory, who included in the sentence of banishment the authors of thirty-five journals. They strove to reach at the same time the enemies of the republic in the councils, in the journals, in the electoral assemblies, in the departments; in a word, wherever they were found. The elections of forty-eight departments were quashed, and the laws in favour of the priests and of the emigrants were repealed. The immediate disappearance of all those who had domineered the departments since the 27th July [9 thermidor] once more raised the spirits of the depressed republicans. In fact, the measure of September was not like that of October [vendémiaire] only partial in its effects; the latter only defeated the royalist party, but the former totally ruined them. The substitution, however, of a dictatorship for legal government

rendered another revolution unavoidable. Of this we shall speak hereafter. We may remark, with respect to the 4th September, [18 fructidor] in the year 5, that it was absolutely inevitable, either that the directory should obtain a victory over the counter-revolution, by decimating the councils; or the councils over the republic, by overturning the directory. It would then remain to enquire, first, if the directory could have succeeded in any other manner than by a stroke of political violence; secondly, if it have not abused its victory.

The government had no authority to dissolve the councils. At the termination of a revolution, the object of which was the establishment of strict right, they could not transfer the direction and control of the kingdom to a secondary authority, and make the legislature, in certain cases, subordinate to the directory. The directors not possessing the power of trying an experimental polity, it may be asked, whether they had any other means of driving the enemy from the very heart of the state? It was no longer able to defend the revolution by the power of the law, and the only alternative therefore was, dictatorship: but in resort-

ing to this alternative, the condition of its existence was broken, and at the same time that it saved the revolution it destroyed itself.

As to its victory, it was, in the attempt to render it too complete, stained with violence. Banishment was extended to too many victims; the petty passions of mankind were mingled with the defence of a great cause, and the directory did not shew that temperance in arbitrary measures which is alone the justice to be expected at such a crisis. It ought, if it had wished to attain its end, to have exiled the chief conspirators only; but it rarely happens that a party does not abuse the power it possesses, and believe that there is danger in indulgence.

The councils of the year 5 were, with respect to the republic, what the legislative assembly had been with respect to the monarchy, except that the Girondists of royalty, not being, like their predecessors, supported by the people, and the directory having a republican army under its control, the events of the 4th September operated against counter-revolution instead of in its favour. This was the fourth defeat of the royalists; two had taken place when it was deprived of power, those of

the 14th July and the 10th August, and two when it was prevented from resuming its power, those of the 5th October and the 4th September. This repetition of impotent attempts and these successive reverses, contributed in no small degree towards reducing this party to submission under the consulate and the empire.

CHAPTER XIII.

The directory, in consequence of the events of the 4th September, returns to a modified revolutionary government.—General peace, except with England.—Bonaparte's return to Paris; his expedition to Egypt.—Democratic elections of the year 6; the directory annuls them, the 11th May [22 floréal].—Second coalition: Russia, Austria, and England attack the republic by Italy, Switzerland, and Holland; general defeats.—Democratic elections of the year 7; the 18th June [30 prairial].—The councils take their revenge on and disorganize the old directory.—Two parties in the new directory and in the councils: the moderate republican party under Sièyes, Roger Ducos, and the council of ancients; that of the ultra republicans, under Moulins, Gohier, the council of five hundred, and the society of *Manége*.—Projects of various kinds.—Victories of Massena in Switzerland, and of Brune in Holland.—Bonaparte returns from Egypt; he comes to an understanding with Sièyes and his party.—Affairs of the 8th and 9th November [18 and 19 brumaire].—End of the dictatorial government.

THE chief result of the 4th September was the return of the revolutionary government, a little modified. The two ancient privileged classes were again driven from society; the refractory priests were a second time exiled.

The *Chouans* and the old *Fuyards*, who had occupied the field of battle in the departments, now abandoned it to the old republicans. All who had formed a part of the military household of the Bourbons, the superior agents of the crown, the members of parliament, the commanders of the Orders of the Holy Ghost and of St. Louis, the knights of Malta; all, in short, who had protested against the abolition of the nobility and retained its titles, were ordered to quit the territory of the republic. The old nobles, as well as those recently created, were rendered incapable of exercising the rights of citizens until the expiration of seven years, after having served as it were their apprenticeship to the republic. Thus did this party, in its thirst for rule, bring back the dictatorship.

The directory about this period reached the height of its power; for some time past it had had no enemy in arms. Freed from all intestine opposition, it imposed peace on Austria by the treaty of Campo Formio, and on the empire by the congress of Rastadt. The treaty of Campo Formio was more favourable to the cabinet of Vienna than the preliminaries of Leoben It was indemnified for the loss

of the Belgic and Lombard states with a part of the Venetian territories. This ancient republic was divided: France kept the Illyrian islands, and ceded the city of Venice, with the provinces of Istria and Dalmatia, to Austria. By this measure, the directory not only committed a great error, but was guilty of a real crime. We may, in the fanaticism of system, wish to render a nation free, but we can have no right to give it away. In partitioning the territories of a small state in this arbitrary manner, the directory furnished a bad example of the traffic in kingdoms, which has been since but too much followed. Besides, the imprudent cession of Venice would sooner or later enable Austria to extend her dominions in Italy.

The coalition of 1792 and 1793 was now dissolved, and England was the only belligerent power that remained. The cabinet of London, which had attacked, in the hope of weakening, France, was by no means disposed to cede to her the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Porentruy, Nice, Savoy, the protectorate of Piedmont, Genoa, Milan, and Holland. But in order to appease the opposition at home, as well as to repair its means of attack, it made

propositions for peace, and lord Malmsbury was sent, in the character of plenipotentiary, first to Paris and then to Lisle. But the directory perceiving that the proposals of Pitt were insincere, would not allow itself to be thus deceived by diplomatic manœuvres. The negociations were twice broken off, and the war between the two powers continued. Whilst England was negociating at Lisle, she was preparing at St. Petersburgh the *triple alliance*, or the second coalition.

The directory, on their side, destitute of money, unassisted by any party at home, and possessing no other support than the army, and no other means of obtaining *éclât* than the continuation of its victories, was not in a condition to consent to a general peace. The public discontent was increased by the establishment of certain taxes, and by the reduction of the public debt to a *consolidated third*, and that payable only in money, an arrangement by which the fundholders were ruined. War was necessary to its existence. An immense body of soldiers could not be disbanded without danger. Besides that the directory would by such a step have been deprived of its force and placed at the mercy of its Eu-

ropean enemies, it would have been to attempt a thing which, except in times of great tranquillity, and when the people enjoy easy circumstances and abundant employment, is never attempted without hazard. The directory was therefore pushed by its situation, to undertake the expedition to Egypt and the invasion of Switzerland.

Bonaparte was then on his return to Paris. The conqueror of Italy and the pacificator of the continent, was received with an enthusiasm, assumed on the part of the directory, but really felt by the people. Honours were granted to him which no other general of the republic had ever enjoyed. A patriotic altar [autel de la patrie] was prepared in the Luxembourg, and in his passage to the triumphal ceremony, of which he was the object, he passed under an arch formed of the colours taken in Italy. He was addressed by Barras, president of the directory, who after having congratulated him on his victories, invited him "to crown so glorious a life by a conquest which the great nation owed to its outraged dignity." This was the conquest of England. They appeared to prepare everything for a

descent, whilst the real object in view was the invasion of Egypt.

Such an enterprise suited both the directory and Bonaparte. The independent conduct of this general in Italy, his ambition, which could not be entirely concealed under a studied simplicity, rendered his presence dangerous. He, on the other hand, was afraid that an inactive life would diminish the already vast opinion which had been formed of him; the world always requiring of those it terms great, more than they can perform. Whilst the directory, in the expedition to Egypt, only thought of the removal of a formidable general, and of attacking the English through India, Bonaparte regarded it as a gigantic conception, an employment agreeable to his taste, and a new means of astonishing mankind. He sailed from Toulon on the 19th May 1798 [30 floréal, in the year 6] with a fleet of four hundred sail, and part of the troops of Italy; he proceeded with a fair wind to Malta, of which he made himself master, and from that Island towards Egypt.

The directory, which was desirous of pro-

curing the neutrality of the Ottoman Porte, that it might attack the English, violated that of Switzerland, that it might expel the emigrants from its territories. French opinions had penetrated into Geneva, and the Pays de Vaud; but the policy of the Swiss confederation was, through the influence of the aristocracy of Berne, avowedly of a counter-revolutionary cast. They had driven from the cantons all the Swiss who had shewn themselves partisans of the French republic. Berne was the head quarters of the emigrants, and there all the plots against the revolution were hatched. The directory complained, but received no satisfaction. The Vaudois, placed by ancient treaties under the direction of France, invoked its support against the tyranny of Berne. The appeal of the Vaudois, its own grievances, and the desire of extending its republican system in Switzerland, much more than the temptation to seize the petty treasure of Berne, with which it has been reproached, decided the directory. After some negociations, which led to nothing, the war commenced. The Swiss defended themselves with great courage and obstinacy; they thought of bringing back

the times of their forefathers; but they were at length compelled to yield. Geneva was reunited to France, and Switzerland exchanged its ancient constitution for that of the year 3. From that moment two parties existed in the confederation, one of which advocated the cause of France and the revolution, and the other that of Austria and a counter-revolution. Switzerland, from this period, ceased to be a common barrier, and became the high road of Europe.

The revolution of Switzerland was speedily followed by that of Rome, where general Duphot being killed in a disturbance, which the pontifical government made no effort to prevent, that state was as a punishment for the offence changed into a republic. All these events tended to complete the system of the directory, and to give it a preponderance in Europe; it was now at the head of the Helvetian, Batavian, Ligurian, Cisalpine, and Roman republics, all of which were constructed after the same model. But whilst the directory extended its influence abroad, it was again threatened by parties at home.

The elections of May 1796 [floréal, year 6] were by no means favourable to the directory;

they were entirely of a different character from those of the year 5. Since the 4th September [18 fructidor] the removal of the counter-revolutionists had restored all the influence of the exclusive republicans, who re-established clubs under the name of *constitutional circles*. This party preponderated in the electoral assemblies, which, by an extraordinary casualty, had to name four hundred and thirty-seven deputies; two hundred and ninety-eight for the council of five hundred, and one hundred and thirty-nine for that of the ancients. As soon as the elections approached, the directory began to exclaim loudly against the anarchists. But its proclamations not having had the effect of preventing democratic elections, it determined to annul them by virtue of a law of circumstance [*loi de circonstance*] by which the councils had, after the 4th September, granted it the *power of judging* the proceedings of the electoral assemblies. It invited the legislative body, by message, to appoint a commission of five members for this purpose. A great portion of the elections was in consequence, on the 11th May [22 floréal] annulled. This blow was aimed by the directoral party at

the ultra-republicans, as, nine months before, it had aimed a blow at the royalists.

The directory was desirous of retaining that political equilibrium which had characterized the first two years of its existence, but its situation was materially changed. Since its last measure, it could no longer be deemed an impartial government, because it was no longer a constitutional one. Its pretensions to independence excited general discontent; it continued, however, in the same state until the elections of the year 7. It displayed great activity, but it was of a narrow and bustling kind. Merlin (de Douai) and Treilhard, who had succeeded Carnot and Barthélémy, were two political pettifoggers; Rewbell had in the highest degree the courage requisite for a statesman, without possessing enlarged views; La Réveillère was too much occupied with the sect of theophilanthropists for the head of a government. As to Barras, he continued his dissolute course of life and his directorial regency: his palace was the resort of gamesters, women of intrigue, and stock-jobbers of every kind. The administration of the directors partook of their character, but was in a peculiar manner

influenced by their situation, the embarrassments of which were still further increased by war with the whole of Europe.

Whilst the republican plenipotentiaries were still negociating a peace with the emperor at Rastadt, the second coalition commenced its campaign. The treaty of Campo-Formio was nothing more than a suspension of hostilities between the republic and Austria, and England had no difficulty in engaging her in a new confederacy, in which all the European powers, with the exception of Prussia and Spain, took a part. The subsidies of the British cabinet, and the attractions of the West, decided Russia; the Porte and the Barbary states, embraced the confederacy on account of the invasion of Egypt; the empire, in order to recover the left bank of the Rhine, and the petty princes of Italy, for the purpose of destroying the new republics. They were discussing at Rastadt the treaty relative to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, the navigation of that river, and the demolition of some fortresses on the right bank, when the Russians passed into Germany, and the Austrian army began to move. The French plenipotentiaries were taken by

surprise, and received orders to depart within twenty-four hours; they instantly obeyed, and, after having obtained safe conduct from the enemy's general, commenced their journey. At some distance from Rastadt they were stopped by a party of Austrian hussars, who having ascertained their names and titles, assassinated them: Bonnier and Roberjot were killed, and John de Bry was left for dead. This unexampled violation of the law of nations, a premeditated assassination of three men invested with a sacred character, excited universal horror. The legislative body indignantly decreed war against the governments to which the guilt of this enormous crime attached.

Hostilities had already commenced in Italy and upon the Rhine. The directory, apprised of the march of the Russian troops, and suspecting the intentions of Austria, obtained from the councils a law empowering them to raise recruits. The *military conscription* placed two hundred thousand young men at the disposition of the republic. This law, the consequences of which were incalculable, was the result of a more regular order of things. The levies in mass had been made

for the service of the revolution, the conscription became the legal service of the country.

The troops belonging to the most impatient powers, and who formed the vanguard of the coalition, had already commenced the attack. The king of Naples had advanced upon Rome, and the king of Sardinia had levied troops, and threatened the Ligurian republic; but not being strong enough to bear the shock of the French armies, they were easily vanquished. General Championnet, after a sanguinary victory, entered Naples, and the Lazzaroni, after defending the interior of the city for three days, were subdued, and the *Parthenopean republic* was proclaimed. General Joubert took possession of Turin, and when the new campaign opened, the whole of Italy was in the hands of the French.

The coalition, which had the advantage of the republic in preparations and in effective force, attacked it by the three great openings of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland. A strong Austrian force debouched in the duchy of Mantua, defeated Shérer twice upon the Adige, and was soon afterwards joined by the whimsical, and until then victorious, Suwarrow. Moreau succeeded Shérer, and

was, like him, defeated: he retreated on the side of Genoa, in order to protect the barrier of the Apennines, and to join the army of Naples commanded by Macdonald, who was also routed at Trébia. The confederates next directed their principal force against Switzerland. Some Prussian corps joined the archduke Charles, who had defeated Jourdan on the upper Rhine, and who was making preparations for crossing the Helvetian frontier. The duke of York at the same time landed in Holland with forty thousand Anglo-Russian troops. The small republics which protected France were invaded, and, after some new victories, the confederates were enabled to penetrate into the very seat of the revolution.

In the midst of these military disasters, to which was added the discontent of all parties, the elections of May 1799 [floréal, year 7], took place; they were, like those of the preceding year, republican. The directory was no longer possessed of sufficient strength to contend against public misfortunes and the animosity of parties. The retirement of Rewbell, who was succeeded by Sièyes, deprived it of the only man who could make

head against the storm, and introduced in his stead the most decided opponent of this obnoxious and worn-out government. The moderate party and the ultra-republicans concurred in demanding of the directors an account of the internal and external state of the republic.

The councils declared themselves permanent, and Barras deserted his colleagues. The animosity of the councils was directed solely against Treilhard, Merlin, and La Réveillère, the last supports of the old directory. They removed Treilhard, because the interval of a year had not elapsed between his legislative and directorial functions, as required by the constitution. The ex-minister of justice, Goheir, was immediately put in his place. The orators of the council next vigorously attacked Merlin and La Réveillère, whom, as they could not depose, they wished to compel to resign. The directors, who were thus menaced, sent a justificatory message to the councils, and proposed peace. On the 18th June (30 prairial), the republican Bertrand [du Calvados], ascended the tribune; and, after having examined the offers of the directors, proceeded in these

terms: "You have proposed a re-union; and I propose that you should consider whether you can still retain your offices. If you desire the welfare of the republic, you will not hesitate to decide. You have no power to do good: you will never have either the confidence of your colleagues, or that of the people, or that of the representatives, without which it is impossible for you to execute the laws. Thanks to the constitution, there already exists in the directory a majority which enjoys the confidence of the people, and of the national representatives. Why do you hesitate to restore unanimity both in design and principle, between the two first authorities of the state? You have no longer even the confidence of those vile flatterers who have hollowed out your political grave. Terminate your career by an act of devotion, which the sound hearts of republicans will alone know how to appreciate."

Merlin and La Réveillère, deprived of the support of government by the retirement of Rewbell, the deposition of Treilhard, and the desertion of Barras, and influenced by the demands of the councils as well as by patriotic motives, at length yielded to circum-

stances, and resigned the directorial authority. This victory, gained by the united efforts of the republicans and the moderate party, proved advantageous to both. The first introduced general Moulins into the directory, the latter, Roger Ducos. The councils, by the transaction of the 18th June, which disorganized the old government of the year 3, took their revenge against the directory for the 4th September [18 fructidor] and the 11th May [22 floréal]. At this period, each of the two great powers of the state had in its turn violated the constitution: the directory, in decimating the legislature; the legislature, in expelling the directory. It was hardly possible that this form of government, of which all parties had cause to complain, should have a prolonged existence.

Sièyes, after the successful issue of the 18th June, endeavoured to destroy what still remained of the government of the year 3, in order that he might establish a legal government upon another plan. He was a man of a capricious temper, and fond of system, but he possessed an accurate perception of what was required in different situations. He once more entered upon the theatre of

the revolution, but at a singular epoch, with the design of closing it by a definitive constitution. After having materially assisted in effecting the principal changes of 1789 by his motion of the 18th June, which transformed the states-general into a national assembly, and by his plan of internal organization, which substituted the departments for the provinces, he had ever since remained silent and passive. He had waited until such time as the measures for the public defence should again give place to measures for the defence of institutions. Appointed, under the directory, ambassador to Berlin, the continuance of the neutrality of Prussia was attributed to him. At his return, he accepted the office, which until then he had refused, of director, because Rewbell had retired from the government, and he believed that all parties were sufficiently tired to co-operate in a final pacification, and the establishment of liberty. For carrying his views into effect, he relied upon Roger Ducos, in the directory; upon the council of ancients, in the legislature; and out of doors, upon the moderate party and the middling class, who, after having wished for laws as a novelty, now

wished for repose as a novelty too. This party was desirous of establishing a firm and steady government, which should have neither retrospections nor enmities, and which should thenceforward satisfy all opinions and all interests.

As effects similar to those which had been produced, between the 14th and 27th July [9 thermidor], by the people, in conjunction with a part of the government, had since the 2nd October [13 vendémiare], been brought about by the army, Sièyes determined to avail himself of the latter. For this purpose it was necessary to have the assistance of a general, and he cast his eyes upon Joubert, who was put at the head of the army of the Alps, in order that he should first, by means of victories, and the liberation of Italy, gain a great political reputation.

The constitution of the year 3, however, was still supported by the two directors Gohier and Moulins, and by the council of five hundred, and out of doors by the party of the *Manége*. The decided republicans had assembled as a club in that hall in which the first assembly had held its sittings. The new club,

formed of the wreck of that of Salm, which had existed before the 4th September, of that of the Pantheon, which had existed at the commencement of the directory, and of the old society of Jacobins, professed republican principles with enthusiasm, but not the democratic opinions of the lower orders. Each of the two parties also possessed a share in the ministry, which had been renewed at the same time as the directory. Cambacérès had the department of justice; Quinette, the home department; Reinhard, who had been placed in office during the ministerial interregnum of Talleyrand, was minister of foreign relations; Robert Lindet, of the finances; Bourdon (of Vatry) of the marine; Bernadotte, of war; and Bourguignon, soon afterwards succeeded by Fouché (of Nantes) of police.

Barras, this time, remained neuter between the two divisions of the legislature, of the directory, and of the ministry. Perceiving that affairs were proceeding to a more considerable change than that of the 18th June, he imagined that the destruction of the republic would bring along with it the restoration of the Bourbons, and he began to treat with the pre-

tender, Louis XVIII. It appears that Barras, in negociating for the restoration of monarchy by his agent David Monnier, by no means forgot himself. He espoused nothing through conviction, and never failed to declare himself for the party which had the greatest chance of victory. After having been a democratic Mountainist on the 31st May; a re-actionary Mountainist on the 27th July [9 thermidor]; a revolutionary director against the royalists on the 4th September [18 fructidor]; an ultra-republican director against his old colleagues on the 18th June [30 prairial]; he now became a royalist director against the government of the year 3.

The faction which had been disconcerted by the 4th September and by the peace of the continent, had also resumed its courage. The military success of the new coalition, the law of the forced loan, and that of the hostages, which obliged each family of emigrants to give securities to the government, had induced the royalists of the south and west to take up arms. They reappeared in bands, which became every day more formidable, and which recommenced the petty but disastrous warfare of the *Chouans*. They expected the arrival of

the Russians, and believed in the speedy restoration of monarchy. This was the moment for a new contest between all parties. Each of them aspired to the inheritance of the expiring constitution, as was seen at the end of the conventional session. In France they are warned by a sort of political odour that a government is dying, and all parties immediately fly to the prey.

Happily for the republic, the war changed its aspect upon the two principal frontiers of the higher and lower Rhine. The allies, after having acquired Italy, attempted to penetrate into France through Switzerland and Holland; but their progress, until then victorious, was arrested by generals Masséna and Brune. Masséna advanced against Korsakof and Suwarrow, and in a series of grand combinations and consecutive victories, during twelve days, running first to Constance and then to Zurich, the Russians were repulsed and forced to retreat, and the coalition was thus disorganised. Brune also defeated the duke of York in Holland, and compelled him to re-embark, and to renounce his attempt at invasion. The army of Italy alone was less successful: Joubert, its general, was killed at the battle of Novi, whilst

charging the Austro-Russian army. But notwithstanding the defeat of Novi, this frontier, which was at a great distance from the centre of events, was not passed, but was skilfully defended by Championnet. The republican troops were themselves likely very soon to be in a situation to cross it; for after having been for a moment beaten, they began to resume their superiority at every fresh conflict, and once more commenced their career of victories. Europe, in giving by its repeated attacks more exercise to the military power, rendered it every day more formidable.

But nothing was changed at home, where divisions, discontent, and uneasiness remained as before. The contest between the moderate and the ultra republicans had become still more decided. Sièyes pursued his projects against the latter. He attacked the Jacobins on the anniversary of the 10th August, in the Champ de Mars. Lucien Bonaparte, who had obtained great influence in the council of five hundred, by his character, his talents, and the military importance of the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, presented a frightful picture of *terror* to the assembly, and declared that France was in danger of its return. About

this time, Sièyes effected the removal of Bernadotte; and Fouché, with his concurrence, closed the assembly of the *Manége*. The multitude, to whom it is only necessary to present the phantom of the past, in order to inspire it with dread, ranked themselves, in their apprehension of the return of the system of *terrors*, on the side of the moderate party; and the ultra-republicans failed in an attempt to get the country declared in danger, as at the end of the legislative assembly. Sièyes, after having lost Joubert, looked around for a general who would enter into his designs, one who would protect the republic, without becoming its oppressor. Hoche had been dead more than a year; Moreau no longer possessed the public esteem, on account of his equivocal conduct towards the directory before the 4th September, and of his sudden accusation of his old friend Pichegru, whose treason he had concealed for more than a year; Masséna was not at all a political general; and Bernadotte and Jourdan were devoted to the party of the *Manége*. Sièyes, finding himself in this situation of poverty, adjourned his political measure for want of a man.

Bonaparte had learned in the east the state

of France. His expedition, into the details of which I do not mean to enter, had been brilliant, but had produced no results. After having beaten the Mamelukes, and put an end to their domination in low and in high Egypt, he had advanced into Syria; but his failure in the siege of St. Jean d'Acre had compelled him to return to his first conquest. There, after having defeated an Ottoman army on the banks of Aboukir, so fatal the year before to the French fleet, he decided upon quitting this land of fame and of banishment, that he might render the new crisis in France subservient to his elevation. He left general Kléber in command of the army of the east, and crossed the Mediterranean, which was covered with English vessels, in a frigate. He landed at Fréjus on the 9th October 1799 (17 vendémiaire, year 8) nineteen days after the victory of Berghen, gained by Brune against the Anglo-Russians under the duke of York, and fourteen days after that of Zurich, gained by Masséna against the Austro-Russians, under Korsakof and Suwarrow. He made a rapid and triumphal progress from the coast of the Mediterranean to Paris. His expedition, which had the appearance of a fabulous story, asto-

nished all France, and added still more to a reputation which the conquest of Italy had already raised to a great height. These two enterprises had distinguished him from all the other generals of the republic. The remoteness of the theatre upon which he had fought had already allowed him to prepare the way for his career of independence and authority. A victorious general, an acknowledged diplomatist, the founder of republics, he had treated all interests with address, all creeds with moderation. Preparing his plans of ambition at a distance from the capital, he had taken care not to make himself the partisan of any system; and he had so managed all parties, as to effect his elevation with their consent. Ever since his victories in Italy, he had entertained thoughts of usurpation. If the directory had been vanquished by the council on the 4th September (18 fructidor) he proposed to march against the latter with his army, and seize the protectorate of the republic. Finding, after the 4th September, that the directory was too powerful, and the inactive state of the continent too dangerous for him, he accepted the expedition to Egypt, that he might not fall into obscurity and be forgotten.

On the news of the disorganization of the directory on the 18th June, he repaired with all possible expedition to the seat of action.

His arrival excited the enthusiasm of the moderate part of the nation; he received general congratulations, and was emulously sought after by all the different parties who were equally anxious to gain him. The generals, the directors, the deputies, even the republicans of the *Manége*, waited upon him, and sounded him. They amused him with feasts and entertainments; he appeared grave, simple, observing, and not very eager; he already possessed the familiarity of a superior, and displayed involuntary habits of command. Notwithstanding his apparent want of eagerness, and the absence of overtures, it was manifest that he entertained ulterior designs: without saying it, he allowed it to be divined; for, in order to accomplish a thing, it is necessary that it should be expected. He could not rely upon the republicans of the *Manége*, who wished neither for a stroke of state policy, nor a dictator; and as to Sièyes, his apprehension that Bonaparte would be too ambitious to enter into his con-

stitutional views, was not without foundation. But, through the importunity of common friends, an interview at length took place, which terminated in an alliance. On the 5th November [15 brumaire] they arranged their plan of attack against the constitution of the year 3. Sièyes undertook to prepare the councils by the *commissions of inspectors*, who had an unlimited confidence in him. Bonaparte was to gain over the generals and the different bodies of troops, which were stationed at Paris, and who displayed much enthusiasm and devotion for his person. They agreed to convoke an extraordinary meeting of the most moderate members of the councils; to lay before the councils a description of the public dangers; and, after exhibiting to them the menacing position of the Jacobins, to demand the removal of the legislative body to St. Cloud, and the appointment of general Bonaparte to the command of the armed force, as the only man who could save the country. They then proposed, by means of the new military power, to effect the disorganization of the directory and the momentary dissolution of the legislative body.

The morning of the 8th November [18 brumaire] was appointed for carrying this enterprise into effect.

For the three intervening days the secret was faithfully kept. Barras, Moulins, and Gohier, who formed the majority of the directory, of which the last was then president, might, by anticipating the conspirators, as on the 4th September, have disconcerted their projects. But they thought of their own hopes and not of other persons' schemes. On the morning of the 8th November, the members of the ancients were convoked in an unusual manner by the *inspectors:* they repaired to the Tuileries, and entered on their session about seven o'clock, under the presidency of Lemercier. Cornudet, Lebrun, and Fargues, three of the most influencial conspirators in the council, presented a most alarming picture of the public situation; they assured it that the Jacobins were coming in crowds from all the departments, that they wished to re-establish the revolutionary government, and that *terror* would again desolate the republic, if the council had not the courage and the wisdom to prevent its return. Another conspirator Regnier (de la Meurthe)

proposed that the ancients, who were already giving way, should, by virtue of the power vested in them by the constitution, transfer the seat of the legislative body to St. Cloud, appoint Bonaparte to the command of the 17th military division, and instruct him to superintend the removal. Either the whole council was an accomplice of this manœuvre, or was struck by a real panic after so precipitate a meeting, and such alarming speeches; however this may be, it granted everything that the conspirators required.

Bonaparte waited impatiently in his house, in the street Mont-Blanc, for the result of this discussion; he was surrounded by generals, by the commandant of the guard of the directory, Lefèvre, and three regiments of cavalry, which he was about to review. The decree of the council of ancients, which was passed at eight o'clock, was brought to him by a messenger of state at half-past. He received the congratulations of those who formed his *cortége,* and the officers drew their swords in token of fidelity. He placed himself at their head, and they marched to the Tuileries, where he had no sooner arrived than he repaired to the bar of the council of ancients,

took the oath of fidelity, and named Lefèvre, the commandant of the directorial guard, for his lieutenant.

This, however, was only the beginning of his success; for, although he was at the head of the military power, the authority of the directory and the legislative power of the councils still existed. In the contest which must infallibly ensue, it was not clear that the grand, and until then victorious, energy of the revolution, would not prevail. Sièyes and Roger-Ducos proceeded from the Luxembourg to the legislative and military camp of the Tuileries, and delivered in their resignation. Barras, Moulins, and Gohier, being apprised, though at a late hour, of what was passing, attempted to use their authority, and secure the protection of their guard; but the latter having, through Bonaparte, received intelligence of the decree of the ancients, refused to obey them. Barras became discouraged, sent in his resignation, and set out for his estate of Grosbois. The directory was in fact dissolved; and there was one antagonist less in the contest. The council of five hundred and Bonaparte alone remained in the field.

The decree of the council of ancients, and the proclamations of Bonaparte, were posted on the walls of Paris, the inhabitants of which experienced that agitation which always accompanies extraordinary events. The republicans felt, and not without reason, serious apprehensions for liberty. But when they manifested alarm as to the designs of Bonaparte, in whom they beheld a Cæsar or a Cromwell, they received a reply in the words of the general: *Bad parts, worn-out parts, unworthy of a man of sense, if not of an honest man. It would be sacrilegious to think of attempts against the representative government, in an age of intelligence and liberty. None but a fool would wish wantonly to lose the stake of the republic against royalty, after having supported it with some danger as well as credit.*" Nevertheless the importance which he assumed in his proclamations was but a bad omen; and he also reproached the directory with the situation of France in a most extraordinary manner. "What have you done," said he, "with that France which I left you so brilliant? I left you peace, I have found war; I left you victories, I have found defeats; I left you the millions of Italy, and I have found nothing

but spoliation and misery. What have you done with the hundred thousand Frenchmen whom I knew, all of them my companions in glory? They are dead. . .This state of things cannot last: before three years it will lead us to despotism." It was the first time during the last ten years, that one man referred everything to himself, and demanded an account of the republic as of his own estate. One is grievously surprised at seeing a single individual, brought forward by the revolution, thus introduce himself into the inheritance so laboriously acquired by a whole people.

On the 9th November [19 brumaire] the members of the council repaired to St. Cloud. Thither also Sièyes and Roger-Ducos accompanied Bonaparte, with the view of opposing the designs of the conspirators.

Sièyes, who understood the tactics of revolutions, proposed, in order to secure the success of their scheme, that their chiefs should be provisionally arrested, and that none but the moderate party should be admitted into the councils; but Bonaparte refused to accede to this proposal; for being no party man, and having hitherto only acted and conquered with soldiers, he thought that he could move

the legislative body like an army by the word of command. The gallery of Mars was prepared for the council of ancients; the Orangery for that of the five hundred. A considerable armed force surrounded the seat of the legislature, as the mob on the 2nd June surrounded the convention. The republicans assembled in groups in the gardens, and waited for the opening of the session: they were agitated with a generous indignation against the military brutality with which they were threatened, and communicated to each other their projects of resistance. The young general, followed by a few grenadiers, traversed the courts and the apartments, and prematurely yielding to his natural character, he said, like the twentieth king of a dynasty: "*I will have no more factions: there must be an end of them: I positively will have no more of them.*" About two o'clock in the afternoon the councils assembled in their respective halls, to the sound of instruments which played the air of *la Marseillaise*.

As soon as the session opened, Emile Gaudin, one of the conspirators, ascended the tribune of the five hundred, and proposed a vote of thanks to the council of the ancients

for the measures which it had adopted, and that its opinion should be requested as to the means of saving the republic. This motion became the signal of the most violent tumult; cries arose against Gaudin from all sides of the hall. The republican deputies besieged the tribune and the chair in which Lucien Bonaparte presided. The conspirators Cabanis, Boulay (de la Meurthe), Chazal, Gaudin, Lucien, &c. grew pale upon their seats. After a protracted commotion, amidst which no one could be heard, order was for a moment restored, and Delbred proposed that they should renew the oath to the constitution of the year 3: no voice being raised against this motion, which at such a juncture was vital, the oath was taken with a burst of enthusiasm, and an unanimity which endangered the conspiracy.

Bonaparte being informed of what was passing in the council of five hundred, and seeing himself in great peril of desertion and defeat, presented himself before the council of ancients. If the latter, which inclined towards the conspiracy, was led away by the enthusiasm of the younger council, he was lost. "Representatives of the people!" said

he, "you are placed in no ordinary circumstances; you are upon a precipice. Yesterday, when you summoned me to notify the decree of removal, and entrusted me with the execution of it, I was at ease: I immediately assembled my comrades; we flew to your assistance. Well, to-day I am overwhelmed with calumnies. They talk of Cæsar, they talk of Cromwell, they speak of military government! If I had wished to oppress the liberties of my country I should not have submitted to the orders you gave me; I should not have had occasion to receive this authority from your hands. Representatives of the people! I swear to you that the country has not a more zealous defender than myself; but it is upon you that its safety depends. The government no longer exists: four of the directors have delivered in their resignation; the fifth (Barras) has been placed under *surveillance* for security; the council of five hundred is divided; the council of ancients alone remains. Let it adopt the necessary measures; let it but speak, I am here to execute them. Let us save liberty, let us save equality." A republican member (Linglet) then rose and ad-

dressed him: "General, we applaud what you say: swear then, with us, obedience to the constitution of the year 3, which can alone maintain the republic." It had been all over with him if this proposition had been hailed with the same enthusiasm as it was in the council of five hundred. It however surprised the council, and Bonaparte was for a moment disconcerted. But he soon resumed: "The constitution of the year 3! you no longer have it. You violated it on the 4th September [18 fructidor] you violated it on the 11th May [22 floréal]. The constitution! it is invoked by all factions, and it has been violated by all; it cannot be a means of safety to us, because it no longer possesses the respect of anybody: the constitution being violated, we must have another compact, and other guarantees." The council applauded the reproaches which Bonaparte addressed to it, and rose up as a sign of their approbation.

Bonaparte, deceived by the easy success which his demeanour had obtained for him in the council of ancients, imagined that his presence alone would appease the stormy council of five hundred. Thither he repaired at the head of some grenadiers, whom he

left at the door, but in the interior of the hall, and he advanced alone with his hat in his hand. At the sight of the bayonets the whole council rose by a sudden impulse. Conceiving that his entrance was the signal of military violence, they all joined in the cry *Outlaw him! Down with the dictator!* Many members rushed towards him, and Bigonet seizing him by the arms: "*What are you doing, rash man!*" said he; "*retire, you violate the sanctuary of the law.*" Bonaparte turned pale, became perturbed, retired, and was carried off by the grenadiers who had served him as an escort.

The tumultuous agitation of the council did not cease with his disappearance. All the members spoke at once, every one proposed measures of public safety and defence. They overwhelmed Lucien Bonaparte with reproaches; he justified his brother, but with timidity. After many efforts he at last succeeded in getting to the tribune, and inviting the council to judge his brother with less rigour. He assured them he had no design against liberty; he recalled his services: but many voices were instantly heard to exclaim, *He has destroyed all the merit of them: Down*

with the dictator! Down with the tyrants! The tumult then became more violent than ever, and they demanded the outlawry of general Bonaparte. "*What*," said Lucien, "*you would have me pronounce sentence of outlawry against my brother!*"—"*Yes, yes, outlawry, that is for tyrants!*" Amidst this confusion it was proposed, and put to the vote, that the council should be permanent, that it should instantly repair to its palace in Paris; that the troops assembled at St. Cloud should form part of the guard of the legislative body, and that the command of them should be given to Bernadotte. Lucien, astounded by all these propositions, and by the *outlawry* which he imagined was adopted like the others, quitted the chair, ascended the tribune, and said in the greatest agitation: "Since I have not been able to obtain a hearing in this assembly, I lay down with a deep sense of outraged dignity the ensigns of the popular magistracy." At the same time he took off his cap, his cloak, and his scarf.

In the meantime, Bonaparte had experienced some difficulty in effecting his retreat from the council of five hundred, in order to recover himself from his perturbation. Little

accustomed to popular scenes, he was sensibly affected by the repulse he had so unexpectedly received. His officers surrounded him; and Sièyes, who had had more revolutionary practice than himself, advised him to lose no time, but instantly to employ force. General Lefèbvre immediately gave orders to bring off Lucien from the council. A detachment entered the hall, proceeded to the chair which Lucien again occupied, took him into their ranks, and returned with him into the midst of the troops. As soon as Lucien came out, he mounted on horseback by the side of his brother, and although deprived of his legal character, he harangued the troops, as president. In concert with Bonaparte, he invented the fable, so often since repeated, of poniards being raisèd against the general in the council of five hundred, and he exclaimed, "Citizen soldiers! the president of the council of five hundred declares to you that the vast majority of the council is at this moment under the dread of some representatives, who with daggers besiege the tribune, threaten their colleagues with death, and carry on the most dreadful deliberations!.....General, and you, soldiers, and all ye citizens! you will only

acknowledge as the legislators of France those who are willing to repair to me. As to those who remain in the Orangery, let them be driven out by force. Those brigands are no longer the representatives of the people, but the representatives of the poniard!" After this furious incentive, addressed to the soldiery by a conspiring president, who, according to custom, calumniated those whom he wished to proscribe, Bonaparte took up the speech. "Soldiers!" said he, "I have led you to victory; may I rely upon you?"—"Yes, yes! Long live the general!"—"Soldiers! there was reason to believe that the council would save the country; it has, on the contrary, given itself up to discord: the factious endeavour to excite it against me. Soldiers! may I rely upon you?"—"Yes, yes! Long live Bonaparte!"—"Well then, I will bring them to reason." He instantly commanded some superior officers, who surrounded him, to clear the hall of the five hundred.

The council, after the departure of Lucien, became a prey to extreme anxiety and the greatest irresolution. Some of the members proposed that they should issue forth in a body and seek an asylum in the midst of the

people of Paris. Others were anxious that the national representatives should not abandon their post, but should withstand the interference of military violence to the last. During this discussion, a troop of grenadiers slowly entered the hall, and the officer who commanded it apprised the council that it must disperse. The deputy Prudhon reminded the officers and soldiers of the respect due to the chosen representatives of the people, and general Jourdan depicted to them the enormity of such an attempt. The troop remained for an instant undecided; but a reinforcement entered in close column, and general Leclerc exclaimed, "In the name of general Bonaparte, the legislative body is dissolved; let all good citizens retire. Grenadiers, forward!" Cries of indignation arose from every seat in the hall, but they were drowned by the sound of drums. The grenadiers, presenting bayonets, advanced slowly along the whole length of the Orangery, and thus drove the members before them, who still however made the air ring with the cry of "Long live the republic!" At half-past five o'clock of the 9th November 1799 [19 brumaire, year 8] there was no longer a national representation.

Thus was consummated this last violation of law, this final blow against liberty; and from this period brute force commenced its dominion. The 8th November [18 brumaire] was in effect another 31st May as between the army and the representatives, except that it was not directed against a party but against the popular power. On that day the revolution expired; but it is right that we should distinguish the 18 brumaire from the consequences which resulted from it. It might at that time have been supposed that the army was merely an auxiliary of the revolution, as on the 5th October [13 vendémiaire], and the 4th September [18 fructidor], and that this indispensable change would not solely turn to the advantage of a single individual, who would soon convert France into a regiment, and who would allow nothing to be heard in the world, which until then had been agitated by so great a moral commotion, but the march of his army and the communication of his will.

THE CONSULATE.

CHAPTER XIV.

Hopes of the different parties after the 18 brumaire.—The provisional government.—The constitution of Sièyes; it is wholly changed in the constitution of the year 8.—Formation of the government; pacific designs of Bonaparte.—Campaign of Italy; victory of Marengo.—The general peace; upon the continent by the treaty of Luneville, with England by the treaty of Amiens.—Amalgamation of the parties; internal prosperity of France.—Ambitious system of the first consul; he constitutes the clergy anew in state, by the concordat of 1802; he creates an order of military chivalry by means of the Legion of Honour; he completes this order of things by the consulate for life.—Hostilities with England are resumed.—Conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru.—The war and the attempts of the royalists furnish a pretext for establishing the empire.—Napoleon Bonaparte nominated hereditary emperor; is consecrated by the Pope the 2nd December 1804, in the church of Notre-Dame.—Successive abandonment of the revolution, and the progress of absolute empire during the four years of the consulate.

The 18 brumaire had an immense popularity. They did not see in this event the elevation of an individual above the counsels of the

people; they did not perceive the termination of the grand movement of the 14th July, which had commenced the national existence. The 18 brumaire presented itself only under the aspect of hope and restoration. Although the nation was very much exhausted, very little capable of defending a sovereignty committed to it, and which had become the object even of its own mockery since it had been exercised by the dregs of the people, nevertheless, so little did it apprehend a despotism, that it saw no one in the state capable of enslaving it. They felt the necessity of being renovated under a skilful director, and Bonaparte, a great man and a victorious general, was suited to their wishes.

Hence, with the exception of the directorial republicans, the last measure was unanimously approved. The infringement of the laws and measures of violence against the assemblies had been so frequent during the revolution, that the people had become habituated to judge of them by their consequences rather than by their legitimacy. From the party of Sièyes to that of the royalists of 1788, every one congratulated himself on the future practical advantages of this change. The moderate

constitutionalists believed that a defined liberty would be established; the royalists flattered themselves with hope, by comparing our revolution, with very little wisdom certainly, to the English revolution of 1660, that Bonaparte was playing the part of Monk, and that he would restore the monarchy of the Bourbons; the mass, ignorant and desirous of repose, reckoned upon the return of order under a powerful protector; the proscribed and the ambitious expected their amnesty or their elevation. During the three months that followed the 18 brumaire, approbation and hope were general. A provisional government was nominated, consisting of three consuls, Bonaparte, Sièyes, and Roger-Ducos, as well as two legislative commissions, charged with preparing the constitution, and an order of things which should be definitive.

The consuls of the two commissions were installed 21 brumaire [8th October]. This provisional government abolished the law upon hostages and the forced loan; it permitted the return of the priests proscribed since the 18 fructidor; it sent out of the prisons and the country, the emigrants whom shipwreck had cast upon the coasts of Calais,

and who for four years were captive in France, and exposed to the severe penalties enacted against the armed emigration. All these measures were very favourably received. But opinion revolted at a proscription exercised against the extreme republicans. Thirty-seven of them were condemned to transportation to Guyana, and twenty-one to be put under surveillance in the department of the Lower Charante, by a simple resolution of the consuls upon the report of the minister of police. The nation did not respect the men who tried to weaken the hands of government, but it raised its remonstrance against an act as arbitrary as it was unjust. Thus the consuls recoiled before their own work; they mitigated the banishment into simple surveillance, and they soon annulled even the surveillance.

Dissension was not long in breaking out among the authors of the 18 brumaire, and continued during the period of their provisional authority; it was little heard of, because it took place within the bosom of the legislative commissions. It originated in the new constitution. Sièyes and Bonaparte could not understand

each other on this subject; the one wished to legislate for France, the other to govern it.

The project of the constitution of Sièyes, which was disfigured in the consular constitution of the year 8, is worthy of being known, if it were only as a legislative curiosity.* Sièyes distributed France into three political divisions; the commune, the province or department, and the state. Each had it powers of administration and of judicature, arranged in hierarchic order. The first, the municipalities and the tribunals of peace and of instance; the second, the popular prefectures and the tribunals of appeal; and the third, the central government and the court of cassation. To fill the different functions of the commune, the department, and the state, there were three sorts of *notability*, the members of which were only simple candidates, presented by the people.

* This constitution has been communicated to us by a member of the convention, who, from many conversations with Sièyes upon this subject, has been able to trace the springs of his hitherto very imperfectly understood political machine. There is at the end of the volume a table, which represents them in detail and in a very striking manner.

The executive power resided in the *proclaimer-general*, a superior functionary, irremovable, irresponsible; charged with representing the nation abroad, and with the formation of the government; in a deliberating council of state, and in a responsible ministry. The proclaimer-elector chose from the list of candidature all the judges, from the tribunals of peace up to the court of cassation; all the administrators, from the mayors up to the ministers. But he was himself incapable of governing; the power was directed by the council of state, and put in operation by the minister.

The legislature differed materially from the form hitherto established; it ceased to be a deliberating assembly, to become a judicial court. In its presence, *the council of state* in the name of the government, and the *tribunate* in the name of the people, pleaded their respective projects. Its sentence was the law. Sièyes, as it seems, had for his object to prevent the violent usurpation of parties, and by placing the sovereignty entirely in the people, to find the limits of it in itself. This intention is manifested in the complicated operation of his political machine. The pri-

mary assemblies, composed of the tenth of the population, nominated the *communal list of candidature*. Colleges of electors, also nominated by them, chose from the *communal list* the superior list of provincial candidates, and from the *provincial list*, the list of national candidates. In everything which concerned the government, there was a reciprocal control. The proclaimer-general took his functionaries from among the candidates presented by the people, and the people could depose the functionaries by excluding them from the lists of candidature; which were to be renewed, the first every two years, the second every five years, and the third every ten years. But the proclaimer-elector had no share in the nomination of the tribunes and the legislators, whose attributes were purely popular.

Nevertheless, to place a counterpoise in the heart of this authority itself, Sièyes separated the initiation and the discussion of the law, which resided in the tribunate, from its adoption, which belonged to the legislative assembly. But, besides these diverse prerogatives, the legislative body and the tribunate were not elected in the same manner. The tribunate consisted, of right, of the first hundred

members of the national list, while the legislative body was chosen directly by the electoral colleges. As the tribunes would naturally be more active, more turbulent, more popular, they were nominated for life and by a dilatory process, in order that they might not attain their station in a moment of passion, and, as we have seen hitherto in most assemblies, with projects of change and indignation. The same dangers not attaching to the other assembly, which had only to give a calm and disinterested judgment on the law, its election was immediate, and its authority temporary.

Finally, there existed, as a complement of all the other powers, a conservatory body, incapable of making any order, incapable of acting, and simply destined to provide for the regular existence of the state. This body was the *constitutionary jury* or conservative senate; it was for the political law what the court of cassation was for the civil law. The tribunate or the council of state sued for its interposition when the sentence of the legislative body was not conformable to the constitution. It had, moreover, the power of calling into its own body any leader of government who was too

ambitious, or any tribune who was too popular, by the *right of absorption*, and when he was a senator, he became incapable of holding any other function. In this manner, it held a double guard over the safety of the republic, by the maintenance of the fundamental laws, and by the protection of liberty against the ambitious.

Whatever we may think of the constitution, which appears too finely balanced to be practicable, we cannot deny the prodigious force of mind and even the great practical knowledge which dictated it. But Sièyes took too little account of human passions; he gave mankind too much credit for their reasonableness and their pliability. He wished, by skilful inventions, to avoid the abuses of human constitutions, and to close all the avenues to death, that is, to despotism, from whatever quarter it might come. I have little faith in the efficacy of constitutions; I believe in such a season, only in the power of parties, in their domination, and in their occasional agreement: but I acknowledge also that, if ever a constitution was adapted to its epoch, it was that of Sièyes to France in the year 8.

After the experience of ten years, which

had shewn only exclusive dominations; after the transits, always violent, from the constitutionalists of 1789 to the Girondists, from the Girondists to the Mountainists, from the Mountainists to the Reactors, from the Reactors to the directory, from the directory to the councils, from the councils to military force, it was impossible to combine more repose and more of public life than in it. The people were wearied of worn-out constitutions, and that of Sièyes was new: they no longer wished for exclusive men, and he interdicted, by the elaboration of votes, the sudden arrival, either of counter-revolutionists, as at the commencement of the directory, or of ardent democrats, as at the end of this government. It was a constitution of moderate men, proper to terminate the revolution, and to settle a people. But from this very circumstance that it was a constitution of moderate men; from this very circumstance that the parties had no longer sufficient ardour to demand a law of domination, there would necessarily be found a man more powerful than these depressed parties and the moderate legislators, who would refuse this law, or would deceive them

by accepting it. This was precisely what happened.

Bonaparte assisted at the deliberations of the constituent committee, he seized with his instincts of power whatever there was in the ideas of Sièyes capable of serving his projects, and he rejected the rest. Sièyes destined for him the functions of grand elector, with six millions of revenue, a guard of three thousand men; the palace of Versailles to live in, and the representation of the republic abroad. But the real government was to be in two consuls, one of war, the other of peace, of whom Sièyes did not think in the year 3, but whom he adopted in the year 8, doubtless to accommodate himself to the ideas of the times. This insignificant magistracy of elector-general was far from satisfying the notions of Bonaparte. "And how could you imagine," said he, "that a man of some talent, and not destitute of fame, would play the part of a pig to fatten on a few millions?" From this moment there was no more dispute; Roger-Ducos, and the greater part of the members of the committee declaring themselves for Bonaparte; Sièyes, who abhorred discussion,

either could not, or would not, defend his ideas. He saw that the laws, the people, France, were at the mercy of a man whom he had contributed to raise.

The 4th December 1799 [nivose, in the year 8] forty-five days after the 18 brumaire, the constitution of the year 8 was published; it was composed of the wreck of that of Sièyes, become a constitution of slavery. The government was placed in the hands of a first consul, who had for seconds two consuls, with a voice in council. The senate, primitively chosen by the consuls, itself chose from the list of national candidates the members of the tribunate and the legislative body. The government alone had the initiation of laws. Thus, there was an end of the body of electors, who nominated the candidates of the different lists, the tribunes of the legislators; an end of the independent tribunes, who pleaded the cause of the people before the legislative assembly; an end of the legislative assembly sprung immediately from the body of the nation, and which was accountable only to it; finally, an end of the body politic. Instead of all this, there existed a consul omnipotent, having the disposal of the army, and of

power, a general and a dictator; a council of state destined to place itself in the front rank of usurpation; finally, a senate of twenty-four members, whose single function was to abrogate the influence of the people, to choose tribunes without authority, and legislators who should be silent. Life passed from the nation to the government. The constitution of Sièyes served as the pretext for a bad order of things. It is worthy of remark, that up to the year 8 all the constitutions had been derived from the social contract, and that, subsequently, up to the year 1814, they were all derived from the constitution of Sièyes.

The new government was regularly installed. Bonaparte was first consul; and he associated with himself as second and third consuls, Cambacérès, former member of the *Plain* of the convention, and Lebrun, the former co-operator with the chancellor Maupeou; by means of them he reckoned upon influencing the revolutionists and the moderate royalists. It was also with this view that the ex-archbishop Talleyrand, and the ex-mountainist Fouché were made ministers of foreign affairs and of police. Sièyes had

great repugnance to making use of Fouché; but Bonaparte wished it. *We shall form,* said he, *a new epoch; we must remember in the past only the good, and forget the bad.* Little did it concern him under what banner they had hitherto served, provided they ranged themselves under his own, and that they summoned around it the ancient supporters of royalism or the revolution.

The two new consuls, and those who were going out, nominated, without waiting for the lists of eligibility, sixty senators; the senators nominated a hundred tribunes and three hundred legislators; and the authors of the 18 brumaire distributed the functions of the state as the spoils of their victory. Nevertheless, it is but justice to say, that the moderate liberal party prevailed in this division of power, and that so much influence did it preserve, that the government of Bonaparte was mild, republican, and conducive to the general prosperity; the constitution of the year 8, submitted to the acceptance of the people, was approved by three millions eleven thousand and seven citizens. That of 1793 had obtained a million eight hundred and one thousand nine hundred and eighteen suf-

frages; and that of the year 3, a million fifty-seven thousand three hundred and eighty-six. The new law satisfied the mass of the population, which was moderate, and less anxious about its guarantees than its repose; while the code of 1793 had found partisans only among the lower class; and that of the year 3 had been equally resisted by the democrats and the royalists. The constitution of 1791 had alone obtained a general approbation, and, without having been subjected to individual acceptation, its observance had been sworn to by entire France.

The first consul, to satisfy the wish of the republic, made proposals of peace to England, which she refused. He was naturally anxious to put on the appearance of moderation, and to give to his government, before negociation, the lustre of new victories. The continuation of war was therefore decided; and the consuls issued a proclamation, remarkable for being addressed to a new class of national feelings. Hitherto France had been summoned to arms, for the defence of liberty; the consuls now began to rouse it in the name of honour. "Frenchmen! You desire peace: your government desires it even more anxi-

ously; its first wishes, its constant efforts, have been for peace. The English ministry reject our offers; the English ministry has betrayed the secret of its horrible policy, to sever France, to destroy its marine and its harbours, to blot it from the map of Europe, or degrade it to the rank of secondary powers; to keep all the nations of Europe separated by divisions, to monopolize the commerce of them all, and enrich itself with their spoils. It is to obtain these frightful successes that England expends her treasures, lavishes her promises, multiplies her intrigues. It is for you to command peace: to command it, we must have money, military stores, soldiers; all should be eager to pay the tribute which they owe to the common defence! The young should rush to enrol themselves in the ranks! It is no longer a question of faction! It is no longer for the choice of tyrants that they are going to arm: it is for the guarantee of all that they hold dear; it is for the honour of France; it is for the sacred interests of humanity!"

Holland and Switzerland had been sheltered from invasion in the preceding campaign. The first consul assembled all his forces upon the Rhine and the Alps. He gave the com-

mand of the army of the Rhone to Moreau, and marched himself into Italy. He started on the 6th May 1800 [16 floréal, in the year 8] for this brilliant campaign, which lasted only forty days. It was important to him not to be long absent from Paris at the *début* of his power, and especially not to leave the campaign undecided. Field-marshal Mélas had a hundred and thirty thousand men under arms; he occupied the whole of Italy. The republican army which was opposed to him did not amount to forty thousand men. He left lieutenant Ott, the field-marshal, with thirty thousand men before Genoa, and marched against the division under general Suchet. He entered Nice, prepared to pass the Var, and penetrate into Provence. It was then that Bonaparte crossed the Great St. Bernard at the head of an army of reserve of forty thousand men; descended upon Italy on the rear of Mélas, entered Milan on the 2d June [16 prairial] and placed the Austrians between Suchet and himself. Mélas, whose line of operations was thus intersected, returned rapidly upon Nice, and from thence upon Turin; he established his head-quarters at Alexandria, and determined to renew his communications by

a battle. On the 9th June, at Montebello, the republican army obtained a victory, the glorious harbinger of greater successes, the credit of which was principally due to general Lannes. But it was on the 14th June [25 prairial] that the fate of Italy was decided on the plains of Marengo. The Austrians were crushed. Unable to force the passage of the Bormid a by a victory, they were now, without the power to retreat, placed between the army of Suchet and that of the first consul. On the 15th they obtained permission to retire beyond Mantua, on the condition of surrendering all the towns in Piedmont and Lombardy, and the dominions of the Pope in that quarter; and thus the victory of Marengo was worth the possession of the whole of Italy.

Eighteen days after, Bonaparte returned to Paris. He was received with the testimonies of admiration which the marvellous activity of these decisive victories had excited. The enthusiasm was universal; there was a spontaneous illumination; and the multitude rushed to the Tuileries to catch a glimpse of him. The public rejoicings were redoubled by the hope of an approaching peace. The first consul assisted, on the 25 messidor, at the anni-

versary festival of the 14th July. When the officers presented him with the colours captured from the enemy, he said to them, "Tell the soldiers, on your return to the camp, that by the arrival of the epoch of the 1st vendémiaire, on this spot where we now celebrate the anniversary of the republic, the French people expect either the publication of peace, or, if the enemy throw invincible obstacles in the way of it, new colours the reward of new victories." But they were compelled to wait a little longer for the peace.

During the interval from the battle of Marengo to the general pacification, the first consul was principally occupied in settling the people, in diminishing the numbers of the discontented, and in restoring to the state the displaced factions. He was very complaisant to the parties who renounced their systems, and very prodigal of his favours to the leaders who renounced their parties. As generally happens in a period of selfishness and concession, he had no difficulty in accomplishing his projects. Already the proscribed of the 18 fructidor had been recalled, with the exception of some royalist conspirators, as Pichegru, Willot, &c. Bonaparte employed very soon

even such of the banished, as Portalis, Simeon, Barbé-Marbois, who had shown themselves anti-conventional rather than anti-revolutionary. He had also gained over some opponents of a different description. The last leaders of La Vendée, the famous Bernier, curate of Saint-Lô, who had so vigorously assisted every insurrection, Chatillon, d'Autichamp, and Suzannet, had made their peace by the treaty of Montluçon (17th Jan. 1800). He addressed himself also to the leaders of the Breton bands, Georges Cadoudal, Frotté, Leprévelaye, and Bourmont. The two last alone consented to submit. Frotté was surprised and shot, and Georges, vanquished at Grand-Champ by general Brune, capitulated. The war of the west was finally terminated.

But some of the *Chouans,* who had taken refuge in England, and who no longer had any hope but in the death of him in whom was concentrated the powers of the revolution, projected his assassination. A party of them having landed on the coast of France, proceeded secretly to Paris. As it was not easy to approach the first consul, they devised a scheme which was truly horrible. On the 3 nivose, at eight o'clock in the evening, Bonaparte was to go to the opera, by the

street Saint-Nicaise. The conspirators placed a cask of powder in a small cart which interrupted the passage; and Saint-Régent, one of them, was to set fire to it on receiving the signal of the approach of the first consul. At the time appointed, Bonaparte proceeded from the Tuileries, and traversed the street Saint-Nicaise. His coachman had the dexterity to pass between the cart and the wall; but the fire had been already put to the match, and the carriage had scarcely reached the end of the street, when the *infernal machine* exploded, covered the quarter of Saint-Nicaise with ruins, shook the carriage, and broke its windows to atoms.

The police, thus taken by surprise, though under the direction of Fouché, ascribed this conspiracy to the democrats, against whom the first consul had a far bitterer antipathy than against the *Chouans*. Many of them were thrown into prison, and one hundred and thirty were banished by a simple *senatus consultum*, demanded and obtained in the night. The real authors of the plot were, nevertheless, finally discovered, and certain of them were condemned to death. The consul created on this occasion special military tribunals. The constitutional party separated itself from him

more decidedly, and began its energetic but useless opposition. Lanjuinais, Grégoire, who had courageouly resisted the extreme party in the convention; Garat, Lambrechts, Lenoir-Laroche, Cabanis, &c. combated in the senate the illegal proscription of one hundred and thirty democrats: and the tribunes, Isnard, Daunau, Chénier, Benjamin Constant, Bailleul, Chazal, &c. roused themselves to the special courts. But the peace came, and these encroachments of power were forgotten.

The Austrians, vanquished at Marengo, and defeated in Germany by Moreau, determined to sue for peace. On the 8th January 1801, the republic, the cabinet of Vienna, and the Empire, concluded the treaty of Luneville. Austria ratified all the conditions of the treaty of Campo-Formio, and ceded, moreover, Tuscany to the young duke of Parma. The Empire recognized the independence of the Batavian, Helvetian, Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics. The pacification now became general, by the treaty of Florence (18th February 1801) with the king of Naples, who ceded the isle of Elba, and the principality of Piombino; by the treaty of Madrid (29th September 1801) with Portugal; by the

treaty of Paris (8th October 1801) with the emperor of Russia; finally, by the *preliminaries* (9th October 1801) with the Ottoman Porte. The continent, by laying down arms, drove England to a momentary peace. Pitt, Dundas, and Lord Grenville, who had kept up these sanguinary divisions, ceased to be ministers, when their system could be no longer followed. The English opposition replaced them; and, on the 25th March 1802, the treaty of Amiens achieved the pacification of the world. England consented to all the continental acquisitions of the French republic, recognized the existence of the secondary republics, and restored our colonies.

During the maritime war with England, the French marine was almost entirely ruined. Three hundred and forty vessels had been taken or destroyed, and almost all the colonies had fallen into the hands of the English. That of St. Domingo, the most important of them all, after having shaken off the yoke of the whites, had continued the American revolution, which commencing with the colonies of England, was to terminate by those of Spain, and render the new independent of the old world. At this epoch, the blacks of

St. Domingo wished to maintain, with respect to the mother country, their freedom, which they had conquered from the colonists, and had defended against the English. They had at their head the famous Toussaint-Louverture. France ought to have consented to this revolution, which had already cost humanity enough. The government of the mother country could never more be re-established in St. Domingo: and by drawing closer the commercial ties with this ancient colony, it might have given itself the only real advantages which Europe, at the present day, can derive from America. Instead of this prudent line of policy, Bonaparte tried an expedition to reduce this island to submission. Forty thousand men were embarked for this disastrous enterprise. It was impossible that the blacks could at first resist such an army: but after its first victories it was attacked by the climate; new insurrections assured the independence of the colony, and France experienced the double loss of an army, and of advantageous commercial relations.

Bonaparte, whose principal object had hitherto been the fusion of parties, now

directed all his attention to the internal prosperity of the republic, and the organization of his power. The noblesse and the clergy were re-introduced in the state, without forming particular classes. The refractory priests, by means of an oath of obedience, could again exercise their religion, and derive their pensions from the government. An act of amnesty was granted in favour of the emigrants, and there remained only a list of a thousand names of those who continued attached to the family and rights of the pretender. The work of pacification was terminated. Bonaparte, aware that the surest means of commanding a nation is to augment its prosperity, stimulated the development of industry, and encouraged the foreign commerce which had been so long suspended. To his motives of policy he added others more elevated, and he sought his own glory in the prosperity of France. He surveyed the departments, cut out canals and harbours, built bridges, repaired the roads, erected monuments, and multiplied the means of communication. He prided himself especially in being the protector and the legislator of domestic interests. The *civil*, *penal*, and *commercial*

codes, which he undertook, either at this epoch or a little later, completed in this respect the work of the revolution, and regulated the internal existence of the nation, in a manner very nearly conformable to its real condition. Spite of political despotism, France had, during the domination of Bonaparte, a domestic legislation superior to all the European societies which, with such absolute government, had preserved also the civil state of the middle ages. The general peace, the universal toleration, the return of order, and the creation of an administrative system, changed in a short time the face of the republic. Civilization developed itself with extraordinary rapidity; and the consulate was, under this aspect, the strong period of the directory, from its opening to the 18 fructidor.

It was more especially after the peace of Amiens that Bonaparte laid the foundation of his future power. He says himself, in the memoirs published under his name: "The ideas of Napoleon were fixed;* but to realize them he wanted the assistance of time and of events. The organization of the consulate was per-

* "Memoirs for the History of France, under Napoleon, written at St. Helena," tom. 1, page 248.

fectly consistent with these; it produced unity, and this was a first step. This step gained, Napoleon was entirely indifferent to the forms and denominations of the different constituted bodies. He was a stranger to the revolution.... his wisdom was to march on his way, without deviating from a fixed point, the polar star by which Napoleon was taking his direction, in order to conduct the revolution to the harbour where he wished it to repose."

At the commencement of the year 1802 he was advancing simultaneously three grand projects, which all tended to the same object. He wished to constitute the clergy, which had as yet only a religious existence; to create, by the Legion of Honour, a permanent military order in the army; and to establish his own power, at first for his own life, and then for his posterity. Bonaparte was installed at the Tuileries, where he gradually resumed the usages and the ceremonial of the ancient monarchy. He was already becoming desirous to establish an intermediate body between himself and the people. He had for some time been in negociation with pope Pius VII, on the affairs of religion. The famous con-

cordat, which created nine arch-bishoprics, forty-one bishoprics, with the erection of chapters, which established the clergy in the state, and replaced it under the external monarchy of the pope, was signed at Paris, the 15th July, and ratified at Rome the 15th August, 1801.

Bonaparte, who had destroyed the liberty of the press, created by the exceptional tribunals, and who was departing more and more from the principles of the revolution, found that he could proceed no further without breaking altogether with the liberal party of the 18 brumaire. In March 1802 [ventose, in the year 10], the most energetic of the tribunes were struck off by a simple operation of the senate: the tribunate was reduced to eighty members; and the legislative body underwent a similar purgation. About a month after, on the 6th April 1802 [15 germinal,] Bonaparte, no longer dreading opposition, submitted the concordat for the acceptance of the assemblies, which he had thus prepared for obedience: they adopted it by a very great majority. The sabbath and the four grand festivals were restored, and from this moment the government ceased to follow the

decennary system. This was the first abandonment of the republican calendar. Bonaparte hoped to attach to himself the sacerdotal party, the order most disposed for passive obedience, and thus to balance the clergy against the royalist opposition, and the pope against the interests of the coalition.

The concordat was inaugurated in great pomp, in the church of Notre-Dame. The senate, the legislative body, the tribune, the principal functionaries, assisted at this new ceremony. The first consul went there in the carriages of the ancient court, with all the circumstance and etiquette of the old monarchy; discharges of artillery announced this return of privilege, and this essay of royalty. A pontifical mass was celebrated by the cardinal-legate Caprara; and the people heard, in a proclamation, language to which they had been strangers: "It was to the sovereign-pontiff," they said, "that reason, and the example of ages, taught them to recur, for the purpose of reconciling their animosities, and producing union in their sentiments. The chief of the church had weighed, in his wisdom, and in the interest of the church, the propositions which

the interest of the state had dictated." In the evening there was an illumination and concert in the garden of the Tuileries. The military presented themselves unwillingly at the ceremony of the inauguration, and haughtily manifested their disapprobation. On the return to the palace, Bonaparte questioned general Delmas on the subject. "*How*," said he to him, "*did you like the ceremony?*" "*It was a beautiful piece of devotion*," replied Delmas; "*there were only wanting the million of men, who have been slain to destroy that which you are restoring.*"

A month after, on the 15th May 1802 [25 floréal, in the year 10] he caused to be presented a law relative *to the creation of a legion of honour*. This legion was to be composed of fifteen cohorts of dignitaries for life, arranged hierarchically, having a centre, an organization, and revenues. The first consul was the chief of the legion. Each cohort was composed of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries. The object of Bonaparte was to establish a new aristocracy. He addressed himself to the sentiment of inequality, which had been but imperfectly

extinguished. In discussing this project of law in the council of state, he fearlessly made known his aristocratic intentions. Berlier, a counsellor of state, having disapproved of an institution so contrary to the spirit of the republic, said, "that distinctions were the baubles of monarchy." "I defy you," rejoined the first consul,* "to shew me a republic, ancient or modern, in which there were no distinctions. You spoke of *baubles*. Well! it is by baubles that we delude mankind. I should not say this to a tribune; but, in a council of sages and statesmen, we ought to say everything. I do not believe that the French people love *liberty and equality*. The French are not changed by ten years of revolution! they have only one sentiment, *honour*. We must therefore give aliment to this sentiment; we must create distinctions. Do you see how the people prostrate themselves before the ribbons and stars of the foreigners; they have been surprised by it; neither do

* This passage is extracted from the unpublished memoirs of M. Thibaudeau of the time of the consulate. In these memoirs, which are extremely curious, will be found political conversations of Bonaparte, details upon his domestic government, and upon the principal sittings of the council of state, which throw much light upon an epoch as yet very imperfectly understood.

they fail to wear them.—We have destroyed everything—we must now rebuild. We have a government, we have powers; but the rest of the nation—what is it? Grains of sand. We have in the midst of us ancient privileges, organized from principles and interests, and which know well what they want. I can reckon our enemies. But as for us, we are scattered, without system, without union, without contact. So long as I live, I can answer for the welfare of the republic; but we must provide for the future. Do you believe that the republic is finally settled? You would find yourselves greatly mistaken. We are able to do it; but we have not, nor shall we, if we do not throw upon the soil of France some masses of granite." Bonaparte announced in these declarations a system of government directly opposite to that which the revolution proposed to establish, and which the new state of society demanded.

Notwithstanding the docility of the council of state, and the purgation which the tribunate and the legislative body had undergone, these three bodies vigorously opposed a law which restored inequality. The Legion of Honour obtained in the council of state only

fourteen voices against ten; in the tribunate, only thirty-eight against fifty-six; and, in the legislative body, only one hundred and sixty-six against one hundred and six. Public opinion manifested a still more decided repugnance to this new order of chivalry: those who were at first invested with it were almost ashamed, and received it with a sort of derision. But Bonaparte pursued his counter-revolutionary march, without disturbing himself by discontents which could no longer produce resistance.

He wished to consolidate his power by the establishment of privilege, and to strengthen privilege by the duration of his power. Upon the proposition of Chabot (de l'Allier) the tribunate declared its wish:—*That there should be given to general Bonaparte a* BRILLIANT PLEDGE *of the national gratitude.* Conformably to this wish, on the 6th May 1802, an organic senatus consultum nominated Bonaparte consul for ten years longer.

But the prolongation of the consulate was not enough for Bonaparte; and two months after, on the 2nd August 1802, the senate, upon the decision of the tribunate and the legislative body, and with the assent of the

people, ascertained by the public registers, carried the following decree:

1. The French people nominate, and the senate proclaim, Napoleon Bonaparte first consul for life.

2. A statue of Peace, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other the decree of the senate, shall attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation.

3. The senate shall bear to the first consul the expression of the confidence, the affection, and the admiration of the French people.

The revolution was completed by granting to the consulate for life, by a simple organic senatus-consultum, the despotic privileges of the temporary consulate. "Senators," said Cornudet, on presenting to them the new law, "we must shut the door upon the Gracchi for ever. The wishes of the citizens with respect to the political laws which they obey, are sufficiently expressed by the general prosperity. The guarantee of the rights of society places absolutely the exercise of the sovereignty of the people in the senate, which is the bond of the nation. This is the only social doctrine." The senate admitted this new social doctrine: it carried off the sovereignty and kept

it safe, until a suitable occasion occurred to pass it over to Bonaparte.

The constitution of 16 thermidor, in the year 10 [4th August 1802], dismissed the people from the state. The public and administrative functions were made immoveable, like those of the government. The electors were for life; the first consul could increase their number; the senate had the right of changing the institutions, of suspending the functions of the jury, of putting the departments out of the pale of the constitution, of annulling the judgments of the tribunals, of dissolving the legislative body and the tribunate; the council of state was strengthened; the tribunate, already decimated by exclusions, appeared still to be sufficiently formidable to call for its reduction to fifty members. Such was, in two years, the frightful progress of privilege and absolute power. Towards the end of the year 1802 everything was in the hands of the consul for life, who had a class devoted to him, in the clergy; a military order, in the Legion of Honour; a body of administrators, in the council of state; a machine for decrees, in the legislative assembly; a manufactory of constitutions, in the senate.

Not daring yet to destroy the tribunate entirely, from which occasionally some words of liberty and opposition were heard, he deprived it of its most courageous and eloquent members, in order that his will might be repeated with docility by all the bodies of the nation.

This internal system of usurpation was extended to his relations with foreign countries. Bonaparte united, on the 26th August, the isle of Elba, and on the 11th September 1802, Piedmont, to the French territory. On the 9th October he occupied the state of Parma, left vacant by the death of the duke; finally, on the 21st October, he caused an army of thirty thousand men to enter Switzerland, for the purpose of enforcing an act of federation, which regulated the constitution of each canton, and which had excited some disturbance. He thus furnished the pretext for a rupture with England, which had never sincerely subscribed to the peace. The British cabinet had only felt the necessity of a suspension of arms; and it prepared, shortly after the treaty of Amiens, a third coalition, as it had done after the treaty of Campo-Formio, and at the moment of the congress of Rastadt. The interest and the situation of England

were alone sure to lead to a rupture, which would immediately dissolve the unions which Bonaparte had effected between various states, and destroy the influence which he preserved over the neighbouring republics, to which the late treaties had assigned complete independence. Bonaparte, on the other hand, breathing only in the glory of the field of battle, and wishing to aggrandize France by conquests and complete his own elevation by victories, could not condemn himself to repose: war was necessary, since he would not have liberty.

The two cabinets continued for some time to exchange very angry notes. Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, concluded by leaving Paris on the 13th May 1803 [25 floréal, in the year 11]: the peace was definitively broken in June [prairial]; both parties prepared for war. The party of emigrants, who had attempted nothing since the *infernal machine* and the continental peace, was encouraged by this resumption of hostilities. The occasion appeared favourable to it; and a conspiracy was framed at London, with the consent of the British cabinet, at the head of which was Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal. The conspirators landed secretly

on the French coast, and proceeded as secretly to Paris. They conferred with general Moreau, who had been persuaded by his wife to become a royalist: but, at the moment when they were about to execute their *coup de main,* the greater part of them were arrested by the police, which had discovered the conspiracy and followed their track. Georges was punished with death, Pichegru was found strangled in his prison, and Moreau was condemned to be detained two years, which was changed into banishment.

This conspiracy, discovered in the middle of February 1804, rendered still more dear to the people the menaced person of the first consul; he received addresses from all the bodies of the state, and from all the departments of the republic. About this time he crushed an illustrious victim: on the 15th March, the duc d'Enghien was carried off by a squadron of cavalry, from the castle of Ettenheim, in the grand duchy of Baden, within a short distance of the Rhine. The first consul believed, from the indications of the police, that this prince had directed the last conspiracy. The duc d'Enghien was precipitately conducted to Vincennes, tried in a few hours by a military

commission, and shot in the moat of the castle. This outrage was not an act of policy, of usurpation, but rather of violence and rage. The royalists had persuaded themselves, on the 18 brumaire, that the first consul was reacting the part of Monk; but in the period of four years he had cured them of this hope. There was no necessity for his breaking with them in a manner so sanguinary, or of reassuring the Jacobins, who no longer existed. The men who remained attached to the constitution had much more dread of despotism than of counter-revolution. Everything induces us to think that Bonaparte, who deemed little of the life of men, little of the rights of nations, who had already acquired the habit of a summary and passionate policy, believed the prince to be one of the conspirators, and wished to terminate, by a terrible example, all conspiracies, the only danger which at this epoch could touch his power.

The war with Great Britain and the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru, served as a ladder for Bonaparte to mount from the consulate to the empire. On the 27th March 1804 [6 germinal, in the year 12] the senate, on receiving a communication of the conspi-

racy, sent a deputation to the first consul. The president François de Neufchâteau, expressed himself in these terms: "Citizen first consul, you are founding a new era, but you ought to make it eternal: splendour, which does not endure, is but a shadow. We cannot doubt that this grand idea has occupied your mind, for your creating genius embraces everything and forgets nothing. Do not delay; you are urged by the time, by events, by conspirators, by the ambitious; you are urged on, in another point of view, by the restlessness which agitates Frenchmen. You may bind down time, command events, disarm ambition, tranquillize France, by giving it institutions which will cement your edifice, and which may prolong for the children that which you have done for their fathers. Citizen first consul, be well assured, the senate speaks here in the name of all the citizens."

Bonaparte answered the senate from St. Cloud on the 25th April 1804 [5 floréal, in the year 12]: "Your address has not ceased to be present to my thoughts; it has been the object of my constant meditations. You have judged the hereditary descent of the supreme magistracy necessary to protect the people

from the conspiracies of our enemies and the agitations which spring from ambitious rivalries. Many of our institutions have appeared to you to want improvement, in order to assure, without the possibility of vicissitude, the triumph of equality and public liberty, and offer to the nation and the government the double guarantee which they require. In proportion as I have concentrated my attention on these great objects, I have felt more and more that, in a case as novel as it is important, the counsels of your wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to fix all my ideas. I invite you, therefore, to make known to me all your thoughts." The senate replied on the 3rd May [14 floréal]: "The senate thinks that it is of the last importance to the French people to confide the government of the republic to *Napoleon Bonaparte*, hereditary emperor." It was by this preconcerted scene that the establishment of the empire was preluded.

The tribune Curée opened the discussion in the tribunate by a motion of order; he rested on the same grounds as those of the senators. His motion was received with eagerness: Carnot alone had the courage to resist the in-

stitution of the empire: "I am," said he, "far from wishing to lessen the praises due to the first consul; but whatever services a citizen may have rendered to his country, there are limits which honour as well as reason impose on the national gratitude. If this citizen has restored the public liberty, if he has accomplished the salvation of his country, will it be a recompense to offer him only the sacrifice of this same liberty, and will it not be to annihilate his own work to offer him his country as his private patrimony? From the moment that it was proposed to the French people to vote upon the question of the consulate for life, any one might easily see that there existed an ulterior design: we saw in succession a multitude of institutions evidently monarchical. This day we see the termination of all these preliminary measures; we are summoned to pronounce upon the formal proposition of re-establishing the monarchic system, and of conferring upon the first consul the imperial dignity and its inheritance.

"Was liberty shewn only to man, that he might never enjoy it! No, I cannot consent to regard as a delusion this good, so univer-

versally preferred to all others, and without which all others are nothing: my heart tells me that liberty is attainable, and that a free government is easy and more stable than an arbitrary government. I voted against the consulate for life, I now vote against the re-establishment of monarchy, because I think that my office of tribune compels me to do so."

He stood alone in his sentiments: his colleagues rose up with envy and amazement against the opinion of this one man, who had escaped the contagion of slavery. We are struck in the harangues of this epoch, with the prodigious change which had taken place in the ideas and the language. The revolution had retrograded to the verge of the ancient régime: there was the same extravagance and the same fanaticism, but it was an extravagance of flattery, and a fanaticism of slavery. The French threw themselves into the imperial government as they had thrown themselves into the revolution. They had referred everything to the deliverance of the people, in the age of reason; they now spoke only of the greatness of one man, and of the age of Bonaparte; and they now fought for the establishment of

kings as not long before they had fought for the creation of republics.

The tribunate, the legislative body, and the senate, were equally eager to vote the Empire, which was proclaimed at St. Cloud on the 18th May 1804 [2 floréal, in the year 12]. The same day a senatus-consultum modified the constitution, which was adapted to the new order of things. The pomp of attendance was still wanting to the imperial government; they gave it French princes, grand dignitaries, marshals, chamberlains, and pages. All publicity was destroyed. The liberty of the press had been already subjected to a censorship; there remained only one tribune open to spectators, which was abolished. The sittings of the tribunate were partial and secret, as were those of the council of state; and from this date, for a period of ten years, France was governed with closed doors. Joseph and Louis Bonaparte were recognised French princes: Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Pérignon, Serrurier, were nominated marshals of the empire. The departments sent addresses, and the clergy

compared Napoleon to a new Moses, a new Mathathias, to a new Cyrus, &c.; they saw in his elevation the *finger of God*, and they said, *That submission was due to him as governing over all; to his ministers as sent by him; because such was the order of Providence.* The pope, Pius VII, came to Paris to consecrate the new dynasty. The coronation took place on Sunday, 2d December, in the church of Notre-Dame.

This solemnity was in prepartion long before-hand, and the whole ceremonial was regulated according to ancient usage. The emperor went to the metropolitan church, escorted by his guard, with the empress Josephine, in a carriage surmounted by a crown and drawn by eight white horses. The pope, the cardinals, the archbishops, the bishops, and all the great bodies of the state, awaited him in the cathedral, which had been magnificently ornamented for this extraordinary ceremony. He was harangued at the gate; and then, clothed in the imperial mantle, the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, he ascended the throne, which was raised at the bottom of the church.

The grand almoner, a cardinal, and a bishop

came to conduct him to the foot of the altar, to be there consecrated. The pope, having anointed him with a triple unction upon the head and hands, pronounced the following prayer: "Almighty God, who didst establish Hazael for the government of Syria, and Jehu king of Israel, in manifesting to them thy will by means of the prophet Elijah; thou who also didst spread the holy unction of kings upon the head of Saul and David by the ministry of the prophet Samuel, spread also, by my hands, the treasures of thy grace and benediction upon thy servant Napoleon, whom, notwithstanding our personal unworthiness, we this day consecrate emperor in thy name."

The pope led him back with great solemnity to the throne, and after he had taken upon the gospel the oath prescribed by the new constitution, the principal herald at arms cried, in a loud voice, *The most glorious and most august emperor of the French is crowned and enthroned! Long live the emperor!* The church rang with the same cry; there was a discharge of artillery, and the pope chaunted *Te Deum*. For many days the festivals were multiplied; but these forced festivals, these

festivals of absolute power, breathed nothing of the joy, vivid, frank, popular, unanimous, of the first federation of the 14th July; and however the nation might be pressed down, it did not welcome the advent of despotism as it had welcomed that of liberty!

The consulate was the last period of the existence of the republic. The revolution was arriving at maturity. During the first epoch of the consular government, Bonaparte attached the proscribed classes to himself by recalling them; he found a people still agitated by all the passions, which he reduced to a calm by his efforts, to prosperity, by the re-establishment of order; finally, he compelled Europe, a third time vanquished, to recognise his elevation. Up to the treaty of Amiens he recalled to the republic victory, concord, prosperity, without sacrificing liberty. He could then, if he had so wished, have become the representative of this grand epoch, which demanded the consecration of a well-understood equality, a wise liberty, a civilization more developed, the noble system of human dignity. The nation was in the hands of a great man or a despot; it depended on him to preserve its freedom, or to

enslave it. He chose rather the accomplishment of his own egotistical projects, and preferred himself alone to all mankind. Bred in the camp, coming late in the revolution, he could comprehend only his own natural and private interests; he could not believe in the moral wants which had given rise to it, nor in the creeds which had agitated it, and which sooner or later was certain to recur and destroy him. He saw a grand movement about to close, an exhausted people which was at his mercy, an earthly crown which he had it in his power to take.

THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER XV.

Character of the empire.—Change of the republics, created by the directory into kingdoms.—Third coalition; taking of Vienna; victory of Austerlitz; peace of Presbourg; erection of the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg against Austria.—Confederation of the Rhine.—Joseph Napoleon nominated king of Naples; Louis Napoleon, king of Holland.—Fourth coalition; battle of Jena; taking of Berlin; victories of Eylau and Friedland; peace of Tilsit; the Prussian monarchy reduced by one half; the two kingdoms of Saxony and Westphalia are established against it.—That of Westphalia is given to Jerome Napoleon.—The *grand empire* rises with its secondary kingdoms, its confederation of the Rhine, its Swiss mediation, its grand fiefs; it is modelled upon that of Charlemagne.—The continental blockade; Napoleon employs the cessation of commerce in order to reduce England, as he had employed arms to subdue the continent.—The invasion of Portugal and Spain; Joseph Bonaparte is nominated king of Spain; Murat replaces him upon the throne of Naples.—New order of events; national insurrection of the peninsula; religious struggle with the pope; commercial opposition of Holland.—Fifth coalition.—Victory of Wagram; peace of Vienna; the marriage of

Napoleon with the arch-duchess Maria Louisa.—The first attempt at resistance fails; the pope is dethroned; Holland united to the empire, and the war in Spain prosecuted with vigour.—Russia renounces the continental system; campaign of 1812; taking of Moscow; disastrous retreat.—Reaction against the powers of Naples; campaign of 1813; general defection.—Coalition of all Europe; exhausted condition of France; the marvellous campaign of 1814.—The confederates at Paris; abdication of Fontainbleau; character of Napoleon; his part in the French revolution.—Conclusion.

From the establishment of the empire, power became more arbitrary and society re-formed itself into the habits of aristocracy. The grand movement of recomposition, which had commenced on the 9 thermidor, went on increasing. The convention had reduced the classes; the directory had destroyed parties; the consulate gained men; the empire corrupted them by distinctions and privileges. This second period was the very reverse of the first. Under the one we saw the government of committees exercised by men eligible every three months, without guards, without fees, without pomp, living on a few francs a day, labouring eighteen hours upon plain walnut-tree tables; under the other, the government of the empire with all

the paraphernalia of administration, its chamberlains, its gentlemen, its pretorian guard, its hereditary character, its immense civil list, and its blustering ostentation. There remained then for the national activity but labour and war. All the material interests, all the ambitious passions, were arranged hierarchically under a single chief, who, after having sacrificed liberty by the establishment of absolute power, destroyed equality by the creation of nobility.

The directory had moulded all the surrounding states into republics: Napoleon wished to constitute them upon the model of the empire. He began with Italy. The order in council of the Cisalpine Republic decided that hereditary monarchy should be re-established in favour of Napoleon. Its vice-president, M. Melzy, came to Paris to make known to him this decision. On the (17th March 1805) 26 ventose, in the year 13, he was received at the Tuileries in solemn audience. Napoleon was upon his throne, surrounded by his court and all the brilliancy of sovereign power, of which he was passionately fond. M. Melzy offered him the crown in the name of his fellow citizens: "Sire," said he to him, in

conclusion, " deign to realize the wish of the assembly over which I have the honour to preside. Interpreter of the sentiments which animate all Italian hearts, it brings to you their most sincere homage. It will gladly inform them that, in accepting their prayer, you have redoubled the force of the bonds which attach you to the preservation, the defence, the prosperity of the Italian nation. Yes, sire, you willed that the Italian republic should exist, and it has existed. Will that the Italian monarchy should be happy, and it will be so."

The emperor went to take possession of this realm; and on the 26th May 1805, he received the iron crown of the Lombards. He nominated the prince Eugene de Beauharnais, his adopted son, viceroy of Italy. He went to Genoa, which also abandoned itself to his sovereignty. On the 4th June 1805, its territory was re-united to the empire and formed the three departments of Genoa, of Montenotte, and of the Appenines. The small republic of Lucca was also comprised in this monarchic revolution. Upon the demand of the gonfalonnier, its chief magistrate, it was given as an apanage to the prince and princess of Piom-

bino, one of the sisters of Napoleon. He himself after this royal progress repassed the Alps, and returned to the capital of his empire. He set out shortly after for the camp of Boulogne, where he was preparing a maritime expedition against England.

This project of descent, which the directory had entertained after the peace of Campo-Formio, and the first consul after the peace of Luneville, had been resumed with much zeal since the new rupture. At the commencement of 1805, a flotilla of two thousand small vessels, manned by sixteen thousand sailors, capable of carrying an army of a hundred and sixty thousand men, nine thousand horse, a numerous artillery, was assembled in the ports of Boulogne, Etaples, Wimereux, Ambleteuse, and Calais. The emperor was accelerating by his presence the completion of this maritime expedition, when he learned that all the forces of the Austrian monarchy were in motion. Ninety thousand men, under the archduke Ferdinand and general Mack, had passed the Inn, invaded Munich, and expelled the elector of Bavaria, the ally of France; thirty thousand, under the archduke John, had occupied the Tyrol; and the archduke

Charles with a hundred thousand men had advanced upon the Adige. Two Russian armies were preparing to join the Austrians. England had organized this third coalition. The establishment of the kingdom of Italy, the re-union of Genoa and Piedmont to France, the open influence exercised by the emperor over Holland and Switzerland, had once more roused the energies of Europe, which now dreaded the ambition of Bonaparte, as it had in former times been terrified by the principles of the revolution. The treaty of alliance between the British minister and the Russian cabinet had been signed on the 11th April 1805, and Austria had acceded to it on the 9th August.

Napoleon instantly quitted Boulogne, returned to Paris, presented himself to the senate on the 23rd September, obtained a levy of eighty thousand men, and set out on the following day to commence the campaign. He passed the Rhine on the 1st October, entered Bavaria on the 6th, with an army of a hundred and sixty thousand men. Masséna arrested the career of prince Charles in Italy, and the emperor pursued the war in Germany with the fleetness of a race-horse. In a few days he crossed the Danube, entered

Munich, won the battle of Wertingen, and at Ulm compelled general Mack to lay down arms. This capitulation disorganized the Austrian army. Napoleon still urged his career of victory, took possession of Vienna on the 13th November, and then marched into Moravia to meet the Russians, who were rallying the wreck of the vanquished troops.

On the 2nd December 1805, the anniversary of the coronation, the two armies engaged on the plain of Austerlitz: the enemy had ninety-five thousand men under arms, the French eighty thousand; the artillery was formidable on both sides. The battle began at sun-rise. These enormous masses were put in motion: the Russian infantry could not withstand the impetuosity of our troops and the manœuvres of their general: the left wing of the enemy was broken first; the imperial Russian guard tried to re-establish the communication, and was entirely crushed: the centre experienced the same fate; and, at one o'clock in the day, the most decisive victory had completed this marvellous campaign. On the following day the emperor congratulated the army in a proclamation, delivered on the field of battle,

"Soldiers!" he said to them, "Your conduct is most satisfactory; you have covered your eagles with immortal glory. An army of a hundred thousand men, commanded by the emperors of Russia and Austria, has been in less than four hours cut to pieces or dispersed; they who have escaped your swords have perished in the lakes. Forty stand of colours, the standards of the imperial Russian guard, a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, twenty generals, more than thirty thousand prisoners, are the result of this for ever-glorious day. This infantry, so vaunted and so superior in numbers, has been unable to resist your onset; and henceforth you have no rivals to dread. Thus, in two months, this third coalition has been vanquished and dissolved." An armistice was concluded with Austria, and the Russians, who might have been destroyed, obtained permission to retreat by a prescribed route, and within a fixed time.

The peace of Presburg followed the victories of Ulm and of Austerlitz: it was signed on the 26th December. The house of Austria, which had lost its foreign possessions, Belgium and the Milanese, was this time abridged even of some of its German territories. It

ceded the provinces of Dalmatia and Albania to the kingdom of Italy; the district of Tyrol, the town of Augsburg, the principality of Eichstett, a part of the territory of Passau, and all its possessions in Swabia, Brisgau, and Ortenau, to the electorates of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, which were transformed into kingdoms. The grand duchy of Baden was also enriched by its spoils. The treaty of Presburg completed the abasement of Austria, begun by the treaty of Campo-Formio, and continued by that of Lunéville. The emperor on his return to Paris, crowned with glory, became the object of an admiration so general and so intense, that he was himself stunned by the general enthusiasm, and intoxicated by his fortune. He received the title of *the Great:* and the senate decreed him a triumphal monument.

Napoleon was still more strengthened in the system which he had embraced. The victory of Marengo and the peace of Lunéville had sanctioned the consulate; the victory of Austerlitz and the peace of Presburg consecrated the empire. The last remains of the revolution were abandoned. On the 1st January 1806, the republican calendar,

after an existence of fourteen years, was definitively replaced by the common one. The *Pantheon* was restored to religion, and the tribunate even ceased to exist. But the emperor laboured more particularly to extend his domination over the continent. Ferdinand, the king of Naples, having in the last war violated the treaty of peace with France, his states were invaded, and, on the 30th March, Joseph Bonaparte was declared king of the Two Sicilies. Shortly after, on the 5th June 1806, Holland was changed into a kingdom, and received for its monarch Louis Bonaparte, another brother of the emperor. There existed no longer any of the republics created by the convention or the directory. Napoleon, who nominated the secondary kings, re-established the hierarchic military régime and the titles of the middle age. He erected Dalmatia, Istria, Frioul, Cadore, Belluno, Conégliano, Trévese, Feltre, Bassano, Vicenza, Padua, Rovigo, into duchies, grand fiefs of the empire. Marshal Berthier was invested with the principality of Neufchâtel, the minister Talleyrand with that of Benevento, the prince Borghèse and his wife with that of Guastalla, Murat with the grand duchy

of Clèves and Berg. Napoleon, who had not dared to destroy the Swiss republic, declared himself their *mediator;* and he finished the organization of his military empire, by placing the Germanic body in dependance on him. On the 12th July 1806, fourteen princes of the south and west of Germany were united in *the confederation of the Rhine,* and Bonaparte recognized as their protector. On the 1st August, they notified to the diet of Ratisbon their separation from the Germanic body; the German empire ceased to exist, and Francis II abdicated the title by a proclamation.

Napoleon had laid his hand over all the west. Absolute master of France and Italy, as *emperor and king,* he controlled Spain by the subordination of its court; Naples and Holland by his two brothers; Switzerland by the act of mediation; and he disposed the kings of Bavaria, of Wurtemberg, and the confederation of the Rhine, against Austria and Prussia. He might, after the peace of Amiens, by maintaining liberty, have made himself the protector of France and the moderator of Europe. But having sought his glory in domination, and his enjoyment in conquest, he

condemned himself to a long struggle, which, in the end, could only terminate in the dependance of the continent or by his own ruin.

This march of incroachment gave rise to the fourth coalition. Prussia, which had remained neutral since the peace of Bâle, had been upon the point, in the last campaign, of uniting itself to the confederates. The rapidity of the victories of the emperor had prevented it; but alarmed now by the increase of the empire, and encouraged by the fine condition of its troops, it joined in a league with Russia to expel the French from Germany. The cabinet of Berlin required, under pain of war, that the troops should repass the Rhine. It wished also to form, in the north of Germany, a league against the confederation of the south. The emperor, who was in the pride of his prosperity, and in the plenitude of his power, far from submitting to its *ultimatum*, marched against Prussia.

The campaign opened in the beginning of October. Napoleon, according to his usual custom, overwhelmed the coalition by the promptitude of his march and the vigour of his measures. On the 14th October he destroyed, at Jena, the military monarchy of Prussia, by a

decisive victory; on the 16th, fourteen thousand Prussians laid down their arms at Erfurth; on the 25th, the French army entered Berlin; and the latter part of 1806 was employed in taking the Prussian fortresses and in marching into Poland against the Russian army. The campaign of Poland was less rapid, but not less brilliant than that of Prussia. Russia, for the third time, measured itself against France. Vanquished at Zurich, vanquished at Austerlitz, it was again vanquished at Eylau and Friedland. After these memorable days, the emperor Alexander entered into a negociation, and concluded, at Tilsit, the 21st June 1807, an armistice, which was followed, on the 7th July, by a definitive treaty.

The peace of Tilsit extended the French domination over the continent: Prussia was reduced by one half. Napoleon had instituted in the south of Germany the two kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, against Austria; he created, still more in advance, in the north the two feudatory kingdoms of Saxony and Westphalia against Prussia. That of Saxony was formed of the electorate of that name and of Prussian Poland, erected into the grand duchy of Warsaw; that of

Westphalia comprised the states of Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Fuld, Paderborn, the greatest part of Hanover, and was given to Jerome Bonaparte. The emperor Alexander, who subscribed to all these arrangements, evacuated Moldavia and Wallachia. Russia remained, however, the only power untouched, though vanquished. Napoleon followed more and more the steps of Charlemagne: he had caused, on the day of his coronation, the crown, the sword, and the sceptre of the Frank king to be carried before him. A pope had passed the Alps to consecrate his dynasty, and he modelled his states upon the vast empire of this conqueror. The revolution had wished to re-establish ancient liberty: Napoleon restored the military hierarchy of the middle age: it had made citizens, he made vassals: it had changed Europe into republics, he transformed it into fiefs. As he was great and energetic, as he had come after a shock which had shaken the world to its centre and fatigued it, he was able to arrange it for a season as he pleased. Thus the *great empire* grew up: at home with its system of administration, which replaced the government of the assemblies; its special courts, its lyceums, where military education was substituted for

the republican education of the central colleges; its hereditary noblesse, which completed, in 1808, the re-establishment of inequality; its civil discipline, which rendered all France as obedient as an army: abroad, with its secondary kingdoms, its confederated states, its grand fiefs, and its supreme chief. Napoleon experienced no longer any resistance, and his commands were obeyed from one extremity of Europe to the other.

At this epoch all the attention of the emperor was concentrated upon England, the only power which could withdraw itself from his attacks. Pitt had been dead about a year, but the British cabinet followed, with great ardour and obstinacy, his plans in respect to the revolution and the empire. After having in vain formed a third and a fourth coalition, it still would not lay down arms. It was a struggle for life. Great Britain had declared France in a state of blockade; and it furnished the emperor with a pretext for excluding it from all European relations. The continental blockade, which began in 1807, was the second period of the system of Bonaparte. In order to arrive at an universal and uncontested supremacy, he employed arms against the continent, and the cessation

of commerce against England. But in interdicting the states of *terra-firma* from all communication with Great Britain, he prepared for himself new difficulties, and he added to the hostility which his despotism had excited, to the political hatred which his conquering domination had incurred for him, the exasperation of private interests, and the commercial suffering occasioned by the blockade.

Nevertheless, all the powers seemed united in the same design. England was placed under the ban of Europe at the general peace. Russia and Denmark in the seas of the north, France, Spain, and Holland in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, declared themselves against her. The imperial power was at this moment at its maximum. Napoleon employed all his activity to create maritime resources, capable of balancing the power of England, which had then eleven hundred vessels of war of every description. He formed harbours, fortified the coasts, built ships, and prepared everything to struggle, in a few years, on this new field of battle. But before this period arrived, he wished to assure himself of the Spanish peninsula, and to introduce his dynasty there, that he might introduce into

that country a policy more firmly and personally faithful to his interests. The expedition of Portugal, in 1807 and in 1808, began, in respect to him and Europe, a new order of events.

Portugal, in point of fact, was an English colony. The emperor, in concurrence with the Bourbons of Madrid, decided by the treaty of Fontainbleau, of the 27th October 1807, that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign. A French army, under the command of Junot, entered Portugal. The prince regent embarked for the Brazils, and the French occupied Lisbon on the 30th November 1807. This invasion was only a preliminary to that of Spain. The royal family were in the greatest anarchy; the favourite Godoï was execrated by the people; and the prince of the Asturias, Ferdinand, conspired against the power of the favourite of his father. Although the emperor could not fear anything from such a government, he had been alarmed by an awkward armament prepared by Godoï during the Russian war. It was doubtless at this epoch he projected the placing of one of his brothers on the throne of Spain; he believed that he

should easily crush a divided family, a perishing monarchy, and obtain the consent of a people, whom he should recall to civilization. Under the pretext of the maritime warfare, and the blockade, his troops penetrated into the peninsula, occupied its coasts, its principal places, and took up a position near Madrid. The royal family were persuaded to withdraw into Mexico, after the example of the house of Braganza. But the people opposed this departure; Godoï, the object of the public detestation, was in the greatest peril of his life; and the prince of the Asturias was proclaimed king, under the name of Ferdinand VII. The emperor availed himself of this revolution of the court to effect his own. The French entered Madrid, and he went himself to Bayonne, whither he summoned the Spanish princes. Ferdinand restored the crown to his father, who in turn resigned it in favour of Napoleon; he succeeded in having it decreed to his brother Joseph by a supreme junta, by the council of Castille, and by the municipality of Madrid. Ferdinand was sent to the castle of Valençay, and Charles VI went to live at Compiégne. Napoleon called his brother-in-

law Murat, grand duke of Berg, to the throne of Naples, in the place of Joseph.

At this epoch was manifested the first opposition to the domination of the emperor, and to the continental system. The reaction declared itself in three countries, hitherto the allies of France, and gave rise to the fifth coalition. The court of Rome was discontented: the peninsula was mortified, in its national pride, by the imposition of a foreign king, in its usages, by the suppression of the convents, the inquisition, and the grandees; Holland suffered in its commercial relations by the blockade, and Austria submitted impatiently to its losses and its subordinate position. England, which instantly detected every opportunity of inflaming the struggle upon the continent, provoked the resistance of Rome, of the peninsula, and of the cabinet of Vienna. There had been a coolness between the pope and France since the year 1805; he had hoped that, in return for his pontifical complaisance at the coronation of Napoleon, the provinces, which the directory had united to the Cisalpine Republic, would have been restored to the ecclesiastical domain. Deceived in this expectation, he rejoined the European

counter-revolutionary opposition, and from 1807 to 1808 the Roman states were the rendezvous of English emissaries. After some warm representations, the emperor gave orders to general Miollis to occupy Rome; the pope menaced him with excommunication, and Napoleon took from him the legations of Ancôna, Urbin, Macérata, Camérino, which made part of the kingdom of Italy. The legate quitted Paris on the 3rd April 1808; and the religious struggle, for temporal interests, was begun with the chief of the church, who should either not have been acknowledged, or should not have been plundered.

The war with the peninsula was still more serious. The Spaniards recognized Ferdinand VII for their king, in a provincial junta held at Seville, on the 27th May 1808, and they took up arms in all the provinces which the French troops had not occupied. The Portuguese also rose in arms, on the 16th June, at Oporto. These two insurrections were at first very successful; they made great progress in a very short time. General Dupont surrendered at Baylen, in the kingdom of Cordova, and this first reverse of the French arms excited the enthusiasm and the hopes of the

Spaniards. Joseph Napoleon quitted Madrid, where Ferdinand VII was proclaimed; and, about the same time, Junot, not being sufficiently strong in troops to occupy Portugal, consented, by the convention of Cintra, to evacuate it with all the honors of war. The English general Wellington, took possession of this kingdom with twenty-five thousand men. At the very time that the pope was declaring himself against Napoleon, that the insurgent Spaniards were entering Madrid, that the islanders were resuming a position on the continent, the king of Sweden was making hostile manifestations toward the European league, and Austria was raising considerable armaments and preparing herself for a new struggle.

Happily for Napoleon, Russia remained faithful to the alliance and the engagements of Tilsit. The emperor Alexander was then in a fit of enthusiasm and affection for this powerful and extraordinary mortal. Napoleon, who, before leading his forces into the peninsula, wished to assure himself of the north, had an interview with Alexander at Erfurth, on the 27th September 1808. The two masters of the west and the north guaranteed

the repose and the submission of Europe; Napoleon marched into Spain, and Alexander took upon himself the care of Sweden. The presence of the emperor soon changed the fortune of war in the peninsula: he took with him eighty thousand veteran soldiers from Germany. Repeated victories made him master of most of the Spanish provinces. He made his entry into Madrid, and presented himself to the inhabitants of the peninsula, not as a master, but as a liberator. "I have abolished," he said to them, "this inquisition, which Europe and the age have denounced. Priests ought to direct the conscience, but not to exercise any external and corporeal jurisdiction over their fellow citizens. I have suppressed the feudal rights, and any one may establish inns, ovens, mills, nets, fisheries, and give free scope to his industry. The selfishness, the wealth, and the prosperity of a small number of men, are more injurious to your agriculture than the heats of the dog-star. As there is only one God, there ought to be in one state only one law. All partial judicatures have been usurped, and are contrary to the rights of the nation; I have destroyed them . . . . The present generation

may entertain various opinions; too many passions have been put in motion; but your posterity will bless me as your regenerator; they will place among the memorable days of their history those in which I have been amongst you, and from these days will date the prosperity of Spain."

Such was in truth the part of Bonaparte in the peninsula, which could only be restored to a better condition and to liberty, by the return of civilization. The establishment of liberty is no more to be done in a day than any thing else; and when a country is immersed in ignorance, barbarism, and poverty, covered with convents, and governed by monks, we must reform its social state before concerning ourselves about its freedom. Napoleon, who oppressed civilized nations, was a real deliverer for the peninsula. But the two parties of civil liberty and religious servitude, that of the cortes and that of the monks, although aiming at very different objects, had the skill to defend themselves in common. The one was at the head of the superior and the middle, the other of the lower classes, and they vied with each other in inspiring the Spaniards with the sentiments

of civil independence, or religious fanaticism. The following is the catechism of which the priest made use:—

"*Tell me, my child, who art thou? A Spaniard by the grace of God.—Who is the enemy of our happiness? The emperor of the French.—How many natures has he? Two: the human and the diabolic nature.—How many emperors of the French are there? One, in three deceitful persons.—What are their names? Napoleon, Murat, and Manuel Godoï.—Which of the three is most wicked? They are all three equally wicked.—From whence did Napoleon come? From sin.—Murat? From Napoleon. And Godoï? From the fornication of the two.—What is the spirit of the first? Pride and despotism.—Of the second? Rapine and cruelty.—Of the third? Avarice, treason, and ignorance.—What are the French? Ancient Christians become heretics.—Is there any sin in putting a Frenchman to death? No, my father, we gain heaven by putting one of these dogs of heretics to death.—What punishment deserves the Spaniard who is wanting in his duty? The death and infamy of traitors.—What shall deliver us from our enemies? Confidence in each other and in our arms.*"

Napoleon had engaged himself in a tedious and perilous enterprize, in which his whole system of war was at fault. Victory did not consist here in the defeat of an army and the possession of the capital, but in the entire occupation of the territory, and in that which is still more difficult, the subjection of the mind. Nevertheless, Napoleon was persuading himself that he should subdue this people, when he was recalled to Germany by the fifth coalition.

Austria had seized the opportunity of his absence and that of his army. She made a powerful effort, levied a hundred and fifty thousand men, comprehending the Landwehr, and began the campaign in the spring of 1809. The Tyrolese rose in rebellion, king Jerome was expelled by the Westphalians, Italy was wavering, and Prussia waited only a reverse in the fortunes of Napoleon once more to take up arms: but the emperor was still in the vigour of life, and in the spring-tide of his prosperity. He hastened away from Madrid, crossed the Rhine, plunged into Germany, gained the victories of Eckmuhl and Esling, occupied Vienna a second time, and, by the battle of Wagram, disconcerted this

new coalition, after a four months' campaign. While he was pursuing the Austrian armies, the English presented themselves before Antwerp, but a levy of national guards was sufficient to quash their Scheldt expedition. By the peace of Vienna of the 14th October 1809, a few more provinces were sliced away from the house of Austria, and it was compelled to join in the continental system.

This period was remarkable for the new character of the struggle. It began by the reaction of Europe against the empire, and indicated the alliance of dynasties, people, priesthood, and commerce. All the discontented interests made an attempt at resistance, which at first failed. Napoleon, since the rupture of the peace of Amiens, had entered on a career, at the end of which he must find either the possession, or the hostility of all Europe. Supported by his character and his position, he had created against the people a system of administration of unheard of efficacy; against Europe, a system of secondary monarchies and grand fiefs, which supported his system of conquest; finally, against England, the blockade, which suspended its commerce. Nothing arrested him

from executing these gigantic, but senseless designs. Portugal communicated with England, he invaded it; the royal family of Spain, by its quarrels and its uncertainty, neutralised this boundary of Europe, he compelled it to abdicate, in order to enforce in the peninsula a bolder and less wavering system of policy; the pope maintained relations with the enemy, he reduced its patrimony; the pope menaced him with excommunications, the French entered Rome; the pope realized his menace by a bull, he was dethroned in 1809, as a temporal sovereign; finally, after the victory of Wagram, and the peace of Vienna, Holland, from its commercial necessities, became an *entrepôt* of English merchandise, and the emperor dispossessed his brother Louis of this kingdom, and incorporated it with the empire. He shrunk from no invasion of right, because he would suffer neither opposition nor hesitation from any quarter. It was necessary that all should submit, allies as well as enemies, the head of the church as well as kings, his brothers as well as strangers. But although vanquished this time, all those who had joined this league waited only a fit occasion to rise once more in resistance.

Nevertheless, after the peace of Vienna, Napoleon added still more to the extent and power of the empire. Sweden, which had experienced a domestic revolution, and whose king, Gustavus Adolphus IV, had been compelled to abdicate, acknowledged the continental system. Bernadotte, prince of Ponte-Corvo, was elected by the states-general hereditary prince of Sweden, and king Charles XIII adopted him for his son. The blockade was maintained throughout all Europe; and the empire, encreased by the Roman states, the Illyrian provinces, those of Valais, of Holland, of the Hanseatic towns, had one hundred and thirty departments, and extended from Hamburg and Dantzic to Trieste and Corfu. Napoleon, who appeared to follow a rash but inflexible policy, deviated from his route at this epoch by a second marriage. He procured a divorce against Josephine, in order to give an heir to the empire, and he married Maria, arch-duchess of Austria. This was a grand error. He abandoned his position and his part of an upstart and revolutionary monarch, who was labouring in Europe against the ancient courts, as the republic had done against the ancient monarchies; he placed himself in an awkward position in respect to

Austria, which he ought either to have crushed after the victory of Wagram, or to have re-established after the marriage with the arch-duchess. Solid alliances repose only on real interests, and Napoleon did not know how to deprive the Austrian cabinet either of the desire or the power to combat with him again. This marriage changed also the character of his empire, and separated it still more from the popular interests; he sought for ancient families to grace his court, and he did all in his power to amalgamate the ancient with the new noblesse, as he had already done in respect to the dynasties. Austerlitz had consecrated the *plebeian* empire; Wagram was to establish the *noble* empire. The birth of a son, in March 1811, who received the title of the *king of Rome*, seemed to consolidate the power of Napoleon, by assuring him of a successor.

The war with Spain was pushed on with vigour during the years 1810 and 1811. The territory of the peninsula was defended foot by foot, and it was necessary to take the towns by assault. Suchet, Soult, Mortier, Ney, Sebastiani, made themselves masters of several provinces; and the Spanish junta, unable to maintain its position in Seville, shut

itself up in Cadiz, of which a French army immediately began the blockade. The new expedition of Portugal was less fortunate. Masséna, who had the direction of it, at first compelled Wellington to retreat, and took Oporto and Olivenza; but the English general entrenching himself in the strong position of Torres-Vedras, Masséna could not touch him, and was compelled to evacuate the country.

While this war was going on prosperously in the peninsula, but without any decisive success, a new campaign was preparing in the north. Russia saw the empire of Napoleon approaching itself. Closed up within its own frontiers, it remained without influence and without acquisitions; suffering all the evils of a blockade, without sharing in the spoils of war. This cabinet bore with impatience a supremacy to which it was itself aspiring, and which it had pursued, slowly but without interruption, since the reign of Peter I. From the close of the year 1810, it augmented its armies, renewed its commercial relations with Great Britain, and appeared not far distant from a rupture. The whole of the year 1811 was passed in negociations, which ended in

nothing, and on both sides dispositions were made for war. The emperor, whose armies were then before Cadiz, and who reckoned upon the co-operation of the west and the north against Russia, entered with ardour on the preparations for an enterprize which was to reduce the only power which he had not yet touched, and to carry his victorious eagles to Moscow. He obtained the assistance of Prussia and Austria, who pledged themselves, by the treaties of the 24th February, and the 14th March, 1812, to furnish an auxiliary corps, the one of twenty thousand, the other of thirty thousand men. The whole disposable force of France was set on foot. A senatus-consultum distributed the national guard into three bands, for the service of the interior, and appropriated a hundred cohorts of the first band (nearly a hundred thousand men) for active military service. On the 9th March, Napoleon set out on this vast expedition; he established his court, during many months, at Dresden, where the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, and all the sovereigns of Germany, came to do homage to his power and his fortune. On the 22nd June, war was declared against Russia.

Napoleon directed his operations in this campaign according to measures which he had always hitherto found successful. He had terminated all the wars which he had undertaken by the rapid defeat of the enemy, the occupation of its capital, and peace with a partition of its territory. His project was to reduce Russia by the creation of the kingdom of Poland, as he had reduced Austria by forming the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, after Austerlitz; and Prussia, by organizing those of Saxony and Westphalia, after Jena. With this purpose he had stipulated with the cabinet of Vienna, by the treaty of the 14th March, for the exchange of Gallicia with the Illyrian provinces. The re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland was proclaimed by the diet of Warsaw, but in a manner incomplete: and Napoleon, who, according to his habits, wished to achieve everything in a single campaign, advanced into the heart of Russia, instead of prudently organizing the Polish barrier against it. His army was about five hundred thousand men. He passed the Niémen on the 24th June, took possession of Wilna and Witepsk; fought the Russians at Ostrowno, Polotzk, Mohilow, Smolensk, and at

the Moskowa, and on the 14th September made his entry into Moscow.

The Russian cabinet had not placed its means of defence merely in its troops, but also in its vast territory and in its climate. As its vanquished armies retreated before ours, they burnt the towns, devastated the provinces, and prepared, in the event of reverses or retreat, the greatest difficulties for Napoleon. In the spirit of this system, Moscow was reduced to a heap of ashes by its governor Rostopchin, as had been Smolensko, Dorigoboni, Wiasma, Gjhat, Mojaisk, and a great number of towns and villages. The emperor ought to have seen that this war would not terminate like the rest; nevertheless, vanquisher of the enemy and master of its capital, he conceived hopes of peace, which the Russians artfully cherished. The winter was approaching, and Napoleon prolonged, for nearly six weeks, his stay at Moscow. He decided upon a retreat only on the 19th October. This retreat was disastrous, and the empire began to totter to its basis. Napoleon could not have been thrown from his high station by the arm of man, for what general could have triumphed over this in-

comparable general? What army could have vanquished the French army? But reverses awaited him in the extreme borders of Europe, at the icy frontiers, which his conquering domination was to reach, and where it was to terminate. He lost, at the end of this campaign, not by defeat, but by cold, by famine, in the midst of the solitudes and the snows of Russia, his veteran army and the charm of his fortune.

The retreat was made with some appearance of regularity as far as the Berezina, where it became one vast scene of disorder. After the passage of this river, Napoleon, who had hitherto followed the army, set out in a sledge, and returned in all haste to Paris, where a conspiracy had broken out in his absence. General Mallet, in co-operation with some others, had conceived the design of overthrowing this colossus of power. His enterprise was very audacious, and as it was founded on an error (the death of Napoleon) too much deception was necessary for it to succeed. Moreover, the empire was still firmly established, and it was not a conspiracy, but a deliberate and general defection, which alone could destroy it. The conspiracy

of Mallet failed, and its leaders were put to death. The emperor, on his return, found the nation surprised by an unaccustomed disaster; but the bodies of the state still observed towards him the most unlimited obedience. He arrived on the 18th September at Paris, obtained a levy of three hundred thousand men, gave a spring to the nation, and refitted in a short time with his prodigious activity a new army, and recommenced the campaign on the 15th April 1813.

But since his retreat from Moscow, Napoleon had entered upon a new series of events. It was in 1812 that the decline of his empire was manifest. All were weary of his domination. All those by whose concurrence he had been raised took part against him. The priests had secretly conspired since his rupture with the pope. Eight state prisons had been officially erected for the dissidents of this party. The mass of the nation also showed itself as weary of his conquests as it had been formerly of factions. It had expected from him attention to private interests, the increase of commerce, respect for the interests of humanity, and it found itself oppressed by conscriptions, by imposts, by the blockade,

by the prevôtal courts, and by the 'consolidated taxes,' the inevitable consequences of his conquering system. He had no longer for adversaries only the small number of men who had remained faithful to the revolution, and whom he called *ideologists*, but all those who, without any precise opinions, wished to realise the material advantages of a better civilization. Abroad, the people groaned under a military yoke, and the humiliated dynasties aspired to restore themselves. The whole world was ill at ease, and a check naturally led to an universal insurrection: "I triumphed," said Napoleon himself, in speaking of the preceding campaigns,* "in the midst of perils always springing up again. As much address as force was wanting. If I had not conquered at Austerlitz, I should have had all Prussia in arms; if I had not triumphed at Jena, Austria and Spain would have declared themselves upon my rear; if I had not fought at Wagram, which was not so decisive, I should have been afraid that Russia would have abandoned me; that Prussia would have risen up against me, and the English were before Antwerp." Such was his condition:

* Memorial of St. Helena, tom. iii, p. 251.

the more he advanced in his career, the more necessary was it for him to conquer, and decisively too. Thus, when he had been defeated, the kings whom he had subdued, the kings whom he had made, the allies whom he had aggrandised, the states which he had incorporated with the empire, the senators who had flattered him so much, and even his companions in arms, abandoned him. The plain of battle which he had carried to Moscow in 1812 retreated towards Dresden in 1813, and was around Paris in 1814—so rapid was the reverse of fortune. The cabinet of Berlin began the defection. On the 1st March 1813 it re-united itself to Russia and England, which formed the *sixth coalition*, to which Sweden was shortly after added. The emperor, whom the confederates believed to be crushed, opened the campaign, notwithstanding, with new victories. The battle of Lutzen gained on the 2nd May with conscripts, the occupation of Dresden, the victory of Bautzen, and the war carried to the banks of the Elbe, astonished the coalition. Austria, which was placed in 1810 on the footing of peace, was again about to take up arms; it already meditated a change of alliance, and proposed itself

as mediator between the emperor and the confederates. Its mediation was accepted. An armistice was concluded at Plesswitz on the 4th June, and a congress assembled at Prague to negociate the peace. But they could not understand each other; Napoleon would not consent to a diminution of his power, and Europe would not remain subject to him. The confederated powers, in concurrence with Austria, demanded that the empire should be bounded by the Rhine, the Alps, and the Meuse. The negociators separated without coming to any conclusion. Austria entered the coalition, and hostilities commenced. War alone could terminate this grand debate. The emperor had only two hundred and eighty thousand men against five hundred and twenty thousand; he wished to drive the enemy beyond the Elbe, and dissolve as usual this new coalition by the promptitude and vigour of his measures. Victory at first appeared to second him. He beat the united allies at Dresden, but the defeats of his lieutenants deranged his plans. Macdonald was vanquished in Silesia; Ney, near Berlin; Vandamme, at Kulm. Unable to make head against the enemy, which was ready to burst upon him

from every quarter, Napoleon began to think of retreating. The princes of the confederation of the Rhine chose this moment to desert the empire. A great battle was fought between the two armies at Leipsic, and the Saxons and the Wurtembergers passed over to the enemy on the field of battle. This defection and the force of the allies, who had learned to make war more compactly and more skilfully, compelled Napoleon to retreat after a struggle of three days. The army marched in the greatest confusion towards the Rhine, of which the Bavarians, who had also revolted, wished to prevent the passage; but it crushed them at Hanau, and re-entered upon the territory of the empire on the 30th October 1813. The end of this campaign was as disadvantageous as that of the preceding. France was menaced within its own frontiers as in 1799, but it had no longer the same enthusiasm of independence; and the man who had despoiled it of its rights found it, at this grand crisis, incapable of supporting him and defending itself. Thus is expiated, sooner or later, the enslavement of nations.

Napoleon returned to Paris the 9th November 1813. He obtained from the senate a

levy of three hundred thousand men, and made with the greatest ardour preparations for a new campaign. He convoked the legislative body, in order to associate it in the common defence; he communicated to it the documents relative to the negociations at Prague, and demanded from it a new and last effort, in order to ensure a glorious peace, which was the universal wish of France. But the legislative body, hitherto silent and obedient, chose this epoch to resist Napoleon.

He was overwhelmed by the common exhaustion, and, without being aware of it, was under the influence of the royalist party, which had been secretly conspiring since the decline of the empire had once more raised its hopes. A commission, consisting of MM. Lainé, Raynouard, Gallois, Flaugergues, Maine de Biran, made an extremely hostile report on the plans followed by the government, and demanded the abandonment of the conquests, and the re-establishment of liberty. This view, very correct perhaps on another occasion, could at that time only lend additional facilities to foreign invasion. Although the confederates had appeared to consent to peace on condition of the evacuation of Europe,

they were, nevertheless, disposed to push the victory to its utmost extremity. Napoleon, irritated by this unexpected and disquieting opposition, suddenly dismissed the legislative body. This beginning of resistance was the harbinger of internal defection. After having extended itself from Russia all over Germany, it was now going to pass from Germany to Italy and France. But everything depended, on this, as on former occasions, on the fate of the war, which even the winter had not suspended. Napoleon derived all his hopes from this quarter, and set out from Paris on the 25th January for this immortal campaign.

The allies were invading the empire at all points. The Austrians were advancing into Italy; the English, who had made themselves masters of the entire peninsula during the last two years, had passed the Bidassoa under Wellington, and were appearing on the Pyrennees. Three armies were hanging on France to the east and the north. The grand allied army, of a hundred and fifty thousand men, under Schwartzemberg, was entering on France, by Switzerland; that of Silesia under Blucher, of a hundred and thirty thousand men, was entering by Frankfort; and that of the north, of a

hundred thousand men, under Bernadotte, had invaded Holland and penetrated into Belgium. The enemies, in their turn, disregarded the fortified places, and instructed in the principles of carrying on war on a grand scale by their conqueror, they marched upon the capital. At the moment when Napoleon was quitting Paris, the two armies of Schwartzemberg and Blucher were upon the point of effecting their junction in Champaigne. Deprived of the support of the people, who merely looked on, Napoleon stood alone against the world, with a handful of veteran soldiers, and his genius, which had lost nothing of its audacity and its vigour. It is a fine sight to contemplate him at this moment; no longer an oppressor, no longer a conqueror, defending foot by foot, by new victories, the soil of his country, his empire, and his renown.

He marched into Champaigne against the two grand armies. General Maison was instructed to stop the career of Bernadotte in Belgium; Augereau, the Austrians at Lyons; Soult, the English upon the Spanish frontier. Prince Eugene was to defend Italy; and the empire, although assailed at its centre,

still extended its vast arms to the heart of Germany by its garrisons beyond the Rhine. Napoleon did not despair of hurling back, by means of a powerful military reaction, this multitude of enemies out of France, and of raising his standards upon the soil of the enemy. He dexterously placed himself between Blucher, who was descending the Marne, and Schwartzemberg, who was descending the Seine; he flew from one army to the other, and beat them both in succession. Blucher was defeated at Champaubert, at Montmirail, at Chateau-Thierry, at Vauchamps; and, when his army was destroyed, Napoleon returned upon the Seine, overthrew the Austrians at Montereau, and drove them before him. His combinations were so powerful, his activity so great, and his manœuvres so certain, that he appeared to be on the point of entirely disorganizing these formidable armies, and, by the annihilation of them, to put an end to the coalition.

But if he conquered wherever he was present himself, the enemy gained ground wherever he was absent. The English had entered Bordeaux, where the standard of the Bourbons was erected; the Austrians occu-

pied Lyons; the army of Belgium was joined to that of Blucher, and appeared upon the rear of Napoleon. The spirit of defection entered his own family, and Murat imitated in Italy the conduct of Bernadotte, and joined the coalition. The great officers of the empire served him still, but feebly, and he did not find in them the zeal and unshaken fidelity of the inferior generals and his indefatigable soldiers. Napoleon had to march anew upon Blucher, who escaped him three times: upon the left of the Marne, by a sudden frost, which hardened the mud, in the midst of which the Prussians were set fast and on the point of perishing; upon the Aisne, by the defection of Soissons, which opened a passage to them at the moment when there was no chance of escape; at Craonne, by the fault of the duke of Ragusa, who prevented a decisive battle, by suffering himself to be taken by surprise in the night. After all these fatalities, which disconcerted his plans, plans the most certain, Napoleon badly supported by his generals, and surrounded by the coalition, conceived the bold design of marching upon St. Dizier, in order to close the outlet of the enemy from France. This bold and

finely-conceived march alarmed for an instant the confederate generals, to whom it shut out the chance of retreat: but stimulated by secret encouragement, without permitting themselves to be disturbed by manœuvres in their rear, they advanced upon Paris.

This great town, the only one of the capitals of the continent which had not been invaded, saw the troops of all Europe entering upon its plains, and was on the point of undergoing the common humiliation. It was abandoned to itself. The empress, nominated regent some months before, had left it and gone to Blois. Napoleon was at a distance. There was not that desperation and enthusiasm for liberty, which alone stimulate the people to resistance; the war was no longer between nations, but governments, and the emperor had taken upon himself alone all public interest, and placed all his means of defence on mechanical troops. There was a great exhaustion; a sentiment of pride, of very just pride, alone inspired their grief at the approach of the enemy, and wounded every French heart, at seeing the national soil trampled upon by armies which had been so long subdued; but this sentiment was not sufficiently strong to rouse

the mass of the people against the enemy; and the intrigues of the royalist party, at the head of which was the prince of Benevento, summoned it to the capital. The allies were notwithstanding engaged on the 30th March, under the walls of Paris; but on the 31st the gates were opened, and they entered by capitulation. The senate consummated the grand imperial defection, by abandoning its master; it was directed by prince Talleyrand, who, for some time, had been in disgrace with the emperor. This *actor*, indebted to every crisis of power, had declared himself against Napoleon; without attachment to party, with a profound political indifference, he foresaw at a distance the fall of a government, and withdrew himself from it; and when the moment to crush it arrived, he was aiding in it with all his means, his influence, his name, and his authority, which he had taken care never entirely to lose. For the revolution under the constituent; for the directory at the 18 fructidor; for the consulate at the 18 brumaire; for the empire in 1804; he was for the restoration of the royal family in 1814. He was the grand master of the ceremonies to power: during a

period of thirty years he had shewn out and shewn in every government. The senate, under his influence, nominated a provisional government, declared *that Napoleon had forfeited the throne; that the right of inheritance was abolished in his family; that the French people and army were absolved from their oath of fidelity to him.* It proclaimed that man a *tyrant* whose despotism it had so long facilitated by its adulation.

Nevertheless, Napoleon, urged by the advice of those about to succour the capital, had abandoned his march upon St. Dizier, and at the head of fifty thousand men, marched upon Paris, in the hope of still preventing the entrance of the enemy. On his arrival, the 1st April, he learned that Paris had capitulated, and he took up a position at Fontainbleau, where he was informed of the defection of the senate and of his forfeiture. It was then, when he saw everything shrinking from him, under his bad fortune, the people, and the senate, and the generals, and the courtiers, that he resolved to abdicate in favour of his son. He sent the duke of Vicenza, the prince of Moskowa, the duke of Tarentum, as plenipotentiaries to the confederates; they were to take

with them, on their road, the duke of Ragusa, who covered Fontainbleau with a division of the army.

Napoleon, with fifty thousand men and his strong military position, could still have imposed the sovereignty of his son upon the coalition; but the duke of Ragusa abandoned his post, treated with the enemy, and left Fontainbleau exposed. Napoleon was then compelled to submit to the conditions of the allies: their pretensions expanded with their power. At Prague they would have ceded to him the empire within the limits of the Alps and the Rhone; after the invasion of France, they offered him, at Châtillon, the possession only of the ancient monarchy; they subsequently refused to treat with him for himself, but only in favour of his son; but now resolved to exterminate the last remains of the revolution in Europe, his conquests, and his dynasty, they compelled Napoleon to an unconditional abdication. On the 11th April 1814, he renounced, for himself and children, the thrones of France and Italy, and in exchange for his vast sovereignty, whose limits had recently extended from Cadiz to the Baltic sea, he received the small isle of Elba. On the 20th,

after the most touching farewell to his veterans, he set out for his new principality.

Thus fell this man, whose name for fourteen years had filled the world. His enterprizing and organizing genius, his restless desires, and his energy, his love of glory, and the immense disposable force which the revolution had put into his hands, had made him the most gigantic being of modern times. That which would have rendered the destiny of another man extraordinary, was scarcely observed in his. Sprung from obscurity, elevated to the supreme power, from a simple officer of artillery become the leader of the greatest of empires, he had dared to conceive the idea of universal monarchy, and, for a moment, he realized it. Having obtained the empire by his victories, he then wished to subdue Europe by means of France, and to reduce England by means of Europe; and he established the military system against the continent, and the blockade against England. This design succeeded for several years; and, from Lisbon to Moscow, he subjected the people and their potentates to his general orders and to the vast sequestration which he had prescribed. But he deviated from this spirit at

the restoring mission of the 18 brumaire. In exercising for his own advantage the power which he had received; in attacking the liberties of the people by his despotic institutions, the independance of states by war, he dissatisfied both the opinions and the interests of mankind; he excited universal hostility, and the nation withdrew itself from him: and, after having been long victorious; after having planted his standard upon the walls of every capital; after having, for ten years, augmented his power, and gained a realm at every battle, a single reverse united the world against him, and he fell—a proof of the impracticability of despotism in the present times.

Napoleon, nevertheless, in spite of the disastrous results of his system, has given a prodigious impulse to the continent. His armies have left behind them the usages, the ideas, and the more advanced civilization of France. European society has been thrown down from its ancient foundation. The people have been mingled together by frequent communication; bridges thrown over rivers, which had hitherto been impassable boundaries; great roads effected in the midst of the Alps, the Appenines, and the Pyrenees, have approximated

their territories; and Napoleon has effected for the *matériel* of states that which the revolution had done for the minds of men. The blockade completed the impulse which the conquest had given; it perfected the industry of the continent, in order to supply that of England, and has replaced the colonial commerce by the produce of manufactures. It is thus that Napoleon, in agitating nations, has contributed to their civilization. He was counter-revolutionary in his despotism as regards France; but, on the other hand, his spirit of conquest rendered him the renovator of torpid Europe, many of the nations of which, sunk in indolence before his coming, have been roused by his approach into life and energy. But in this Napoleon obeyed only his own selfish nature. Born in war, war was his desire, his pleasure; domination his object: he wanted to master the world, and circumstances put it into his hands, in order that he might infuse into it a new existence.

Napoleon represented for France, as Cromwell did for England, the government of the army, which is always established when a revolution is contested; it then changes its na-

ture by little and little, and, instead of being civil as it had been at first, becomes military. In Great Britain, the internal war not being embarrassed with foreign war, because of the geographical situation of the country, which isolates it from other states, when the enemies of reform had been vanquished, the army passed from the field of battle to the government. Its interposition was premature, and Cromwell, its general, still found parties in all the bitterness of their passions, in all the fanaticism of their creed, and he directed alone against them its military administration. The French revolution, taking place upon the continent, found the people disposed for liberty, and their sovereigns consequently leagued together, in apprehension of their being emancipated. It had not only internal, but foreign enemies to combat; and whilst the armies repulsed Europe, the parties overthrew each other in the assemblies. The military interposition occurred subsequently; and Napoleon, finding the factions crushed, their creeds almost abandoned, obtained from the nation an easy obedience, and directed the military government against Europe.

This difference of position greatly modified

the conduct and character of these two extraordinary men. Napoleon, possessed of an immense force, and an uncontested authority, gave himself up in security to his vast designs, and to the part of a conqueror; while Cromwell, deprived of the assent which springs from popular exhaustion, incessantly assailed by factions, was forced to neutralize them by means of each other, and to be to the end a military dictator of parties. The one employed his genius in enterprise, the other in resistance; thus, the one had the freedom and the decision of force, the other the craft and the hypocrisy of opposed ambition. Their position was necessarily destructive of their domination. All dictatorships are temporary, and it is impossible, however great or strong they may be, to hold for any length of time the control of parties, or the occupation of kingdoms. It is this principle which would, sooner or later, have led to the fall of Cromwell (had he lived longer), by internal conspiracy; and that of Napoleon, by the universal rising of Europe. Such is the fate of all power, which, springing from liberty, is not founded upon it.

In 1814 the empire was destroyed; the parties of the revolution had not existed since

the 18 brumaire; all the governments of this political period had been worn out. The senate recalled the ancient family. Unpopular already from its past servility, it lost itself in public opinion, by publishing a constitution, sufficiently liberal, but which placed in the same line the pensions of the senators, and the guarantees of the nation. The count d'Artois came first into France in the quality of lieutenant-general of the realm. He signed, on the 23rd April, *the convention of Paris*, which reduced the territory of France to its limit of the 1st January 1792, and by which Belgium, Savoy, Nice, Genoa, and an immense military *matériel*, ceased to belong to it. Louis XVIII disembarked at Calais on the 24th April, and made his solemn entry into Paris on the 3rd May 1814, after having given, on the 2nd, the *Declaration of St. Ouen*, which consecrated the principles of the representative government, and which, on the 2nd June, was followed by the promulgation of the charter.

At this epoch began a new series of events: the year 1814 was the limit of the grand movement which had taken place during the twenty-five preceding years. The revolution

had been political, as directed against the absolute power of the court, and the privileges of the classes; and military, because Europe had attacked it. The reaction, which then declared itself, reached only the empire, and led in Europe to the coalition; in France to the representative régime: such was its first period. At a subsequent epoch, it contended with the revolution, and produced the holy alliance against the people, and the government of a party against the charter. This retrograde movement must also have its course and its termination. It is not possible henceforward to govern France permanently, but by satisfying the double want which the revolution has inspired. There must be in the government a real political liberty, and in society that substantial good which results from the unceasing progress and development of civilization.

THE END.

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